



Landscape values of rural inhabitants in the Sound region

two case studies; reflections and theoretical considerations on culture/nature relations and social space

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Landscape values of rural inhabitants in the Sound region

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Birgitta Svensson***

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Preface

This report is the result of an interdisciplinary pilot study within the project “Landscape as a Resource for Health and Development”. The project has received a grant of Skr. 100.000 from the Öforsk project “The Landscape as a Resource for Health and Development in the Sound Region”. Within the project similarities and differences of the meaning of landscape to 3 residents respectively in Bramsnæs and 3 in Landskrona municipality in the Sound Region has been investigated through qualitative interviews. A matrix inspired by the semiotics of the American philosopher Charles S. Peirce and the considerations of space of the French sociologist Henri Lefebvre has been developed in relation to the project and serves as the theoretical foundation of the study. The project has been carried out by Professor Birgitta Svensson, Department of Ethnology University of Lund and Nordiska museet, Stockholm (responsible for the project), Associate professor, Phil. Dr. Jette Hansen-Møller, Danish Centre for Forest, Landscape and Planning, The Royal Veterinary and Agricultural University, Copenhagen, PhD Katarina Saltzman Department of Ethnology, The University of Gothenburg and PhD-student Hans Jørgen Fisker, Danish Centre for Forest, Landscape and Planning, The Royal Veterinary and Agricultural University, Copenhagen.

Jette Hansen-Møller, December 2005

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Abstract

This report is a result of an interdisciplinary pilot study of the meaning of the landscape to residents that have either lived for a longer timer or are newcomers to the countryside in two municipalities in the Sound region. Through qualitative interviews with 3 respondent in Bramsnæs and 3 in Landskrona municipality the goal has been to unveil similarities and differences of their perceptions, experiences and arguments concerning their physical and social environment. A matrix inspired by the semiotics of the american philosopher Charles S. Peirce and the considerations of space of the French sociologist Henri Lefebvre has been developed in relation to the project and serves as its theoretical foundation of the study.

Keywords: meaning of landscape, semiotics, social space, countryside, culture-nature relations

Background, objectives and expectations

Landscape is a highly complex concept. In this context it is interpreted as different social constructions and physical expressions of relations between culture and nature. To grasp the dynamics of landscapes, knowledge and understanding of the many ways in which landscapes are used, experienced and perceived by people are essential. Important ethnological contributions to landscape research are the methods to understand the multiple (co-operating and conflicting) uses and perceptions of landscapes (Saltzman 2001). Because all knowledge is born out of specific places and specific actions, all knowledge is spatially bound, and based on specific perspectives and therefore landscape analysis must be based on situated knowledge (cf. Massey 1994). From this follows a relational understanding of time and space, and an awareness of the fact that values are present in all spatial representations and activities. Further, the point of departure in this project is that landscape is an expression of values of both culture and nature and that these phenomena have to be integrated in order to accomplish balanced solid conditions and sustainable development (cf. Harvey 1996).

During the latest decades a major transformation of the rural landscape within the Sound region has taken place as well on the physical level as on the level of attitudes. The number of farmers in the countryside has decreased considerably, since the economical foundation for earning a living has changed. Instead, people who have been brought up under urban conditions have settled in the countryside in order to obtain what they consider more satisfying living conditions (cf. Amcoff 2000). Some effects of this change are clearly visible in the landscape. But which are the values that these newcomers experience and bring into the countryside? How do they alter social life in the rural areas? What are their ideas about the relationship between culture and nature? Is a diversified economy of the contemporary countryside comparable to the hidden diversification of the rural economy in former times (cf. Scott 1998)?

In this study we approach the landscape as a biophysical reality and a socio-cultural construction as well in order to investigate the cultural meanings of the rural parts of the Sound region. What does it, for instance mean to feel free from urban life? Do the contemporary interests in living in the countryside express an alternative life-style or a request for new attitudes? Are different attractions identified in the rural landscape if you ask people who have lived there for a long period of time and if you ask those who have recently moved in? Which differences and similarities can be observed when we compare rural landscape perceptions on the Danish and the Swedish side of the Sound region?

To many people, the landscape of the rural areas in the expansive Sound region is first of all considered a resource as a place to live. Being able to live in a rural environment and at the same time have access to what the urban centres can supply, is seen as appealing by many of the inhabitants of the Sound region. The countryside is highly valued for its cheap housing opportunities and more tolerant living conditions (Svendsen 2003), and many people seem prepared to commute for distances greater than before in order to reach the perceived qualities of a rural abode.

Aiming at a closer examination of how the inhabitants themselves understand the rural landscape of the Sound region as a resource to live in, we have conducted two case studies, one in Denmark and one in Sweden. Each case study includes three long, qualitative interviews with selected representatives of rural inhabitants in well-defined geographical areas. The informants were chosen as representatives of groups that live in the countryside for different reasons. First we wanted informants that had moved out to the area rather recently, since we expected them to have reflected on *why* they chose this kind of living and what their preferences were. Therefore we have interviewed a person on each side of the Sound who has moved from the city to a rather simple rural housing because of limited economic resources and, one with a higher social status that - with a better economy - has been able to get a bigger estate. We also interviewed a full-time farmer on each side of the Sound, as we assumed that only a few farmers move to a new place and therefore they could represent the meanings of the tradition in a particular countryside. The Danish farmer's family had been living on his farm for five generations. The Swedish farmer moved into the region thirteen years ago when he took over the farm after his parents-in-law.

The number of interviews in this project might seem rather limited and the investigation is to be seen as an explorative pilot study. But even though it is a limited study the qualitative findings can still provide information about matters of which the respondent holds particular knowledge (Fog 1994) and uncover attitudes or motivations important as a basis for further research trying to catch the contemporary, prevailing set of values concerning nature/culture relations, living conditions and life styles in the countryside of the Sound region.

The overall objective of this paper is to provide knowledge that can qualify planning of the landscape around the cities on both sides of the Sound

region, by uncovering uses of the landscape and qualities appreciated by the inhabitants; and to enhance a theoretical model developed to understand the relationship between culture and nature, i.e. the qualities of the landscape both concerning the apprehension of nature and of the countryside as a social space. Our ultimate interest is to uncover some definable values that are preferably to be protected or produced in the future in the rural landscapes of the Sound region.

The main research questions have been: 1) which culture-nature values are especially important to the three different kinds of inhabitants in the rural countryside close to urban centres in the Sound region? 2) Are there correspondences or discrepancies and conflicts between the ways the respondents understand and use the countryside as a form of life or dwelling places? And if there is, how are they constituted and what are their contents? 3) What similarities and differences can be uncovered between the three kinds of respondents on both sides of the Sound?

The areas of the case study

For the case studies, two municipalities have been chosen that are both located close to the bigger urban built-up areas in the region, and at the same time considered rural and far away from the same centres. We found these areas particularly interesting as they are both in the periphery and close to centres. In them it seems possible to combine the qualities of the countryside and the qualities of having urban centres within a reasonable distance.

In the following we will give a brief general presentation of the geographical areas chosen for the case studies. The Danish study was conducted in the rural zone of Bramsnæs municipality, and the Swedish study in a rural district belonging to Landskrona municipality.

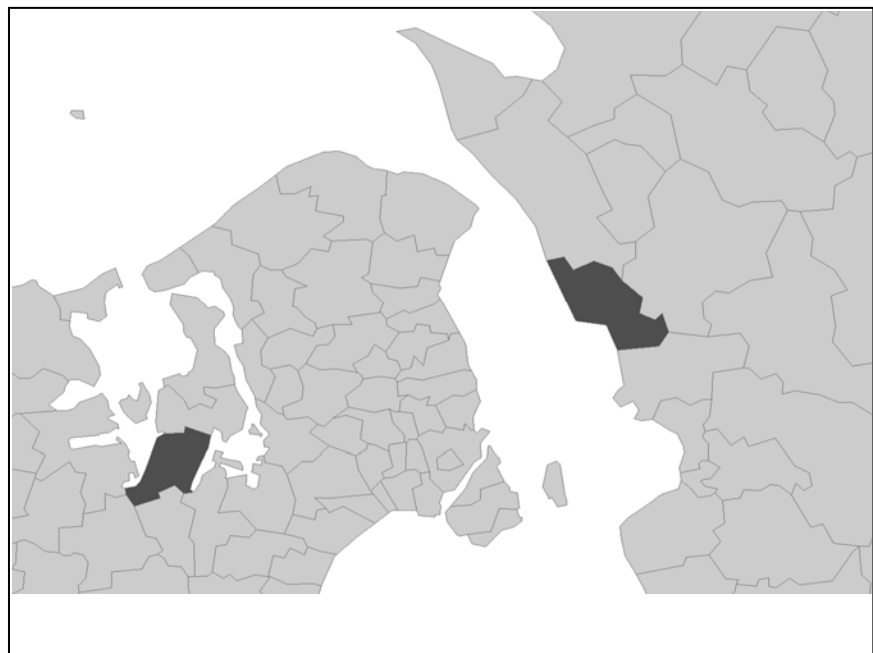


Figure 1: The location of Bramsnæs and Landskrona municipalities in the Sound region

Bramsnæs municipality

The municipality of Bramsnæs considers itself a modern local countryside community (Bramsnæs kommune 2003b: 6). It is app. 80 km² and its coastline is 24 km as it is located at the base of the peninsula between Roskilde Fjord and Issefjorden. More than 90% of the municipality consists of a modulating countryside with well kept villages and manor houses and farms on most of which are pigs. In spite of its proximity to Copenhagen – 45 minutes by car outside rush hours – there has not been much development in the area mainly because major parts are comprised by conservation plans or guideline of some kind and only 1/5 is considered a rural district with no special regional interests.

The municipality has a little more than 9000 inhabitants (Bramsnæs Kommune 2003 a: 11). This number has decreased during the last years, and like the rest of Denmark it is expected that the percentage of older people will rise in the years to come. Today 12% of the population is more than 67 years whereas 23% are children less than 18 years. (Bramsnæs Kommune 2003 b: 6). There are app. 4.500 households in the municipality. ¾ of these are one family detached houses, 1/3 are summerhouses and only 1/20 are farms (Bramsnæs Kommune 1997: 7). The service sector is the dominating branch. In 2002 1.450 persons lived and worked in the municipality whereas more than 3.700 were employed elsewhere, most often in the neighboring municipalities, in Roskilde or Copenhagen (Bramsnæs Kommune 2003 b: 8). This number is increasing as is the number of people living of social welfare (ibid: 14).

Kirke Hyllinge is the centre city in the municipality. Here is school, library, older citizens' centre, sports centre, shops of various kinds and two manufacturing districts. Besides it is possible to buy groceries in three villages but for other businesses the inhabitant have to go to one of three cities with app. 30.000 inhabitants within 15 minutes drive - Frederikssund to the north, Holbæk to the south west and Roskilde to the south east - or to Copenhagen.

The municipality wants to develop tourism and the possibilities for outdoor recreation in the future respecting local communities and nature (Bramsnæs commune 2003 a: 12). To day the fjords are publicly accessible with possibilities for swimming in three locations and at the eastern side of the peninsula there has been established a path along the coast in collaboration with the county. It has not been possible to establish a similar path at the western side due to resistance from the local land owners. Besides these opportunities there is a visitor centre at one of the manor houses interpreting the nature and culture of the area in exhibitions and by events and guided walks (Bramsnæs Kommune 1997: 12 and 2003a: 9).

The closer neighbourhood of the Danish case study area

The landscape in which the three Danish informants live is predominantly agrarian although one third of the municipality can be described as a romantic landscape with rolling hills, hard wood forests and many views to the fjords. One of the respondents lives in the open countryside, another

next to the municipal center-city and the last one in a former fishing-hamlet. Access to the nearby cities is provided by busses to a railway station outside the municipality or by smaller roads linked to a highway south of the area. As the municipality is located in a peninsula it is considered remote even though it takes less than an hour to go to the center of Copenhagen. When it comes to occupations most people in the area work in the service sector and are employed by the public locally or in the neighboring municipalities. In the northern part of the area there is an area with summer houses but compared to the ones along the northern coast of Sjælland it is a smaller area as Danes prefer seashores to shores at fjords.

Landskrona municipality

In the Swedish part of the project the rural district of Landskrona municipality has been chosen since here the cultivated land is both fertile and considered as genuinely agrarian though it is located very close to the main urban centers in the Sound region. The big cities in the region can all be reached within 30 minutes. More than 90% of the population live in the built up areas in the municipality and especially the southern part of the district from which we have chosen our informants is rather densely populated and characterized by farming. However it is also close to the coast and considered as a resource of great natural beauty. Landskrona has a coastline of approximately 15 km. Traditionally the fertile land has been giving basis for several breeding-centers. The planning situation is that parts of the land in question is considered as especially valuable as a resource for both recreational and nature reasons.

Landskrona is situated in western Skania, 20 km south of Helsingborg, 30 km northwest of Lund and 40 km north of Malmö. It has an area of 141 square kilometers. The dominating structure is agricultural in a landscape with picturesque views formed out of geologically interesting formations. The landscape is in several places dominated by archeological graves and monuments from the Bronze Age.

The municipality has 38.475 inhabitants (SCB kommunfakta 2003). During the last ten years the population has increased with 2000 persons and as in the rest of Sweden the landskronians are getting older. Today 19% of the population is older than 65, whereas 23% are under 19 years (ibid.). The dominating branches are manufacturing which occupies 43% of the male working population while care and medical service occupies 35% of the female working population. Trade and communication takes 18% whereas farming and fishing occupies only 2% or 291 persons of the working population. The commuting is 50/50 to and from the municipality.

Landskrona town is the center with all conveniences, schools, hospital, library, social welfare institutions, museum, art exhibition hall, theatre etc. The museum is describing the natural and cultural development in the municipality, especially the cultural landscape of the river Saxån valley, archeological excavations, the development of the town, etc. Landskrona was founded as a military defense in the 16th century and the town has

grown around its castle. The Areas around the moats are today gardens and parks.

The municipality is in a process of change. The ending 20th century was a dramatic period to many Landskrona citizens when the industries that the community had relied on for a long time collapsed, as they no longer could win the competition with low salary countries. At the same time political changes in Europe created a huge amount of refugees of which many were received in Landskrona. Today the amount of persons living in Landskrona but born abroad is 20% (ibid.). This has caused social problems and together with environmental problems back in the 1980s as a result of activities in chemical industries, there has been created a negative self picture among them.

The politicians are working hard to change this picture by pointing at a beautiful nature, a beach with swimming possibilities in the central city, recreation areas, golf grounds, sports arenas, a football team in the Swedish national league, a potential for a good living in houses with a sea view, etc. They are trying to attract new citizens to settle down and to expand tourism. Landskrona is located in the middle of an economically expanding region with good communications which is an important base for the hopeful expectations pronounced.

The closer neighbourhood of the Swedish case study area

The landscape in which our informants live is predominantly agrarian land. There is a railway station in the district, connecting the villages with all the main urban centers in the Sound region within less than an hour. This part of the Landskrona municipality is remote seen from the municipality centers view, while at the same time, it is central in the greater region. It is described as a “hidden pocket”, a forgotten corner by one of our informants. The inhabitants in the two villages from where the Swedish informants come, is a mixture of “men working with large machines and women working within the social services” as one of the respondents expresses it. Occupations like these are characteristic to Swedish countryside on the whole today, when gradually fewer and fewer work with farming.

In one of the villages there is a big horse sport establishment with a riding school and a cross-country racing track. Many horse owners inhabit this area and horses for leisure-time use and their enclosed pasture-land is a characteristic feature of this landscape. However, the villages do not display the kind of countryside living with pastoral idyllic spots that is promoted and branded in many life-style magazines.¹

Methodology

The overall research method has been heuristic, trying to generate new knowledge of the meaning of countryside life in the Sound region. We have

¹ The Swedish organization of farmers LRF has recently launched two glamorous journals, *Lantliv* and *Gods och gårdar* as a new way to promote the countryside and countryside living. Many of the examples come from the Sound region, however not from the parts chosen by us.

searched for relevant issues, perspectives and theories that were not evident from the beginning. However, since the scale of the project is very limited, this should be regarded as a pilot study, exploring future possibilities. For this reason, this working-paper has a rather heavy theoretical point of departure in proportion to the empirical findings.

In this project we have tried to develop a new and distinct methodology for the analysis of the ongoing production of landscape values. In order to address and identify the landscape values of the different users of the countryside and to be able to develop a model for description and evaluation of processes and values related to these, we have chosen to interview three 'types' of inhabitants. The informants are supposed to represent three different ways of positioning themselves in relation to the landscape they use and influence. The first one being a traditional landowning farmer that is supposed to represent classical values; the second a person of small means which we expect to have moved to the countryside because there they have possibilities to get a reasonably low cost living; and the third category of persons that we address is a wealthy one who has chosen to live here because of the outspoken qualities of countryside living such as being close to nature and live a good life in general. In order to uncover what is of specific importance to people living in the countryside we have chosen these respondents, totally six persons – one of each category on respective side of the Sound.

By comparing and juxtaposing the narratives of these respondent we have tried to uncover often tacitly appreciated qualities (Polanyi 1966) of the countryside of which the respondents holds particular knowledge and which makes it important as a place for living. Qualitative studies are useful to discern attitudes and motivations, and to obtain an intensive study of perceptions. Such methods have been used within ethnological landscape studies for several years (Svensson 2005a, Saltzman 2001, Saltzman & Svensson 1997) and are now also being a more broadly accepted way of understanding deeper values and experiences within landscape research (Hansen-Møller 2004).

When it came to recruit the preferable persons we found corresponding farmers on both sides of the Sound. The farmers have approximately the same size of farms and background, though their productions differ. They both work fulltime on rather big farmers which have been owned by the families for generations. The informants of the second category, the newcomers who have chosen to live in the countryside in order to find a cheap home, have somewhat similar backgrounds, although the Dane is a man that for the moment receives unemployment benefits and is living on his own, and the Swedish counterpart is a woman with family – husband and a small child – and a temporary job. In the third category the discrepancy between the interviewed persons is more significant. On the Swedish side of the Sound we interviewed a woman who is living with her husband on a farm where she keeps horses. When she moved out from the small town that is the centre of the municipality she left her former job as nursery school teacher to attend to the horses full time. On the Danish side

our third informant is a man who has moved to a previous summer house in a former fishing-hamlet near the fjord with his wife to.

The empirical study was conducted through qualitative fieldwork including deep interviews, each a couple of hours long. The field work was carried out in late 2003 and the beginning of 2004. The Danish interviews were conducted by Hans Jørgen Fisker and the Swedish ones by Katarina Saltzman, and all the interviews were recorded and transcribed. From these transcriptions text segments have been taken into the theoretical model through a thematic analysis procedure.

In this study the analytical model has served four purposes. Firstly it was used as a basis for developing an interview guide, covering - among other themes - the important aspects of the *Meaning of landscape* (Hansen-Møller 2004). Secondly it has been used to identify the 'basic elements' of the meaning of Landscape to each of the respondents through condensations of the verbatim transcripts of the interviews. Thirdly, the respective expressions and their context, i.e. the argumentations behind has been compared in order to identify aspects of the relationship between the respondents and the landscape in which they live, i.e. themes that more than one person stressed as described under Findings. Fourthly, this process has been used to test the strength of the model.

Interview Guide

In order to try to uncover the potential qualities of the Landscape as a Habitat the respondents were asked to recount what they considered especially good or bad experiences they had had in the area as well as in the area where they were brought up. What made them feel at home i.e. what was lacking in order to have that feeling, what they could not live without and what were their future plans: for staying or leaving the area, of changes of house and property; relations to fellow citizens.

To understand what the respondents experienced as Representational space their personal status and background was uncovered: sex, age, matrimonial status, number of children, education and background experiences such as former places of living etc. Further they were asked questions about the quantitative aspects of their property, what qualities of the surrounding landscape they particularly liked and which facilities of the area such as public transport, schools and other institutions, shops and associations they were engaged in. They were also asked to tell what parts of the area they visited, how they used them and what and how were their relationships to other inhabitants in the area.

Finally, if it had not already become evident to the interviewer through the former questions, the respondents were asked to explain their reasons for moving to the particular area and how they considered living there physically as well as socially and mentally in order to uncover the symbolic values of the countryside to them.

Theoretical considerations for investigating the landscape of its inhabitants

In the following the theoretical fundament of the pilot study of the landscape of the inhabitant in the municipalities of Bramsnæs and Landskrona will be forwarded. It is based on a theoretical model developed to understand the *Meaning of landscape*, i.e. *Natursyn*, developed by Hansen-Møller (2004 and Hansen-Møller et al 2004) inspired by the phenomenology of the American philosopher and semiotician Charles S. Peirce. (Hartshore et al. 1992). By *Meaning of landscape* Hansen-Møller refers to the self-evident imaginations of a person or a group of persons about the qualities of their surroundings and all the possible ways in which they can be utilized. These meanings are rarely questioned as it is usually impossible to put them into words. But they show themselves in all of the persons practical as well as literal relations to the surroundings and as such they can be studied. Especially when confronted with persons carrying another *Meaning of landscape* a subject will be aware of his own.

To Peirce *A sign is something which stand for something to somebody in some respect or capacity* (CP: 2.228²) i.e. a *Representamen*, an *Object relation* and an *Interpretant* respectively. According to Peirce they belong to three different discursive universes termed *Firstness*, *Secondness* and *Thirdness* respectively. *Firstness* refers to a universe of potentialities and possibilities dependent in nothing else beyond itself. *Secondness* involves the dynamic idea of otherness as actions and reaction, stimulus and response and so on. It refers to something that actually takes place (CP: 7.538) and is involved whenever we orient ourselves in time and space. *Thirdness* embodies continuity. It is future oriented and permits us to predict. It is the 'consciousness of synthesis' (CP: 1.337). These categories are based on his interpretation of nature as explained below their modalities being *possibility*, *necessity* and conditioned necessity or *probability* respectively and their structural complexities being monadic, dyadic or triadic.

In this context the notion *Landscape* is understood as the *Object relation* between the *Representamen*, i.e. *Nature*, and an *Interpretant*, i.e. *Culture*, as illustrated at the horizontal axis of figure 3. *Firstness*, *Secondness* and *Thirdness* are used as categories on the vertical axis characterized as *Potentialities*, *Actualities* and *Habits* respectively.

² In the following references to Peirce will be listed as CP followed by a number, a dot and another number indicating the book and chapter from which the reference is drawn. CP 3. 112 fx refers to Collected Papers book 3, section 112 in Hartshore et al., 1992.

Sign categories Modalities	Nature	Landscape	Culture
Firstness Potentialities and possibilities	Nature	Habitat	Sense
Secondness Actuality and necessity	Environment	Area	Experience
Thirdness Habits and probability	'Laws'	Symbol	Argument

Figure 2: The nine categories developed to understand the Meaning of landscape, "Naturesyn", by Hansen-Møller (2004: 13)

In this paper, we take the theoretical considerations of the *Meaning of landscape* a step further by introducing and discussing the meaning of the concept of *Abstract space* of the French sociologist, Henri Lefebvre in relation to the categories of Peirce's. To facilitate this comparison the notions of Lefebvre's interpreted from a Peircean perspective by us are forwarded in figure 4.

Sign categories Modalities	Material Space	Social Space	Mental Space
Firstness Potentialities and possibilities	Energy	Spatial Practice	The Percieved
Secondness Actuality and necessity	Space/Body	Representations of Space	The Concieved
Thirdness Habits and probability	Symmetry, Mirror Effect	Symbol	Argument

Figure 3: The Abstract space of the French sociologist Henri Lefebvre (2000) interpreted from a Peircean perspective by the authors of this paper.

The point of departure in Lefebvre's studies was the relations between the social and the spatial in the agrarian areas in the periphery of France. Later on he concentrated on the crisis of the big cities. To grasp that crisis theoretically and inspired by Carl Marx' understanding of the development of the forms of production he evolved a theory about space. Hence, his theory is not about space as such but about the *production* of space. Space is neither considered a thing nor an object. On the contrary, it is understood as a set of relations themselves intervening in the ongoing process of space production. It is an effect of societal decisions and human behavior against nature – natural or physical space or what is termed *Environment* by Hansen-Møller (2004) and in this study after being improved by the thought of Lefebvre is labeled *Space-Relation*.

To Lefebvre space is physical *as well as* mental and what he finds problematic is, like Peirce, the split between the two which he refers back to

René Descartes distinction between body and mind. That split has caused two illusions which are the ones Lefebvre wants to eliminate or bridge. According to one illusion space is considered *transparent*, understandable and open to actions and imaginations. It is exclusively mental and describable in thought and writing. What this illusion lacks is social practice. Within the other illusion, the illusion about *natural simplicity*, space is understood as a 'thing' more real than subjects and thoughts. It is a mere physicality. In contrast to these illusions to Lefebvre space is social and contains the mental as well as the physical (Simonsen 1999:12). In this context *social space* is found comparable to the concept *Landscape*, *mental space* comparable to *Culture* and *physical space* an example of *Nature*.

According to Larsen (2001) *Abstract space* is Lefebvre's encompassing concept enlightening human practical relations and understandings of the environment including the conflicts between the different images of the practical 'reality'. To Lefebvre (2000: 236) *Abstract space* has a strictly symbolic existence. It is located nowhere and embodies *all* places. This makes it comparable to language and to the mental space where 'self-consciousness' takes form and makes it subject to *identification* and *imitation*. *Abstract space* does not refer to a thing, rather to a set of relations *between* things (objects and products). And it is at once a precondition and a result of social superstructures. (Lefebvre 2000: 83-85). *Abstract space* implies a tacit agreement (ibid.: 56) but also contradictions. It cannot itself be conceived abstractly and neither can its 'content' except by means of a practice that *deals with it* (ibid. 306), i.e. here: research. The reason is that its abstract form seems to resolve the contradictions, but thereby its logic rather conceals the violence inherent in abstraction, i.e. the violence immanent in instrumental space than resolve it (ibid.). Finally *Abstract space* is also characterized by an assigned and meaningful form comprehending the entire existence of a specific group of people (ibid.: 240).

Based on the above statements about *Abstract space* it seems to fertilize the concept *Meaning of landscape* which is not a thing but a scientific concept by which we try to re- introduce Lefebvre's theoretical construction as a tool for understanding the meaning of places to their inhabitant in rural Sealand and Skania.

When it comes to comparing Lefebvre and Peirce some might find it inexpedient or even a mistake as Lefebvre (2000:136) explicitly criticizes semiotics for taking space for granted. To that it can be argued that Lefebvre when criticizing semiotics obviously has the French semiotician Ferdinand de Saussure in mind as he refers to Noam Chomsky, Julia Kristeva, Jacques Derrida and Roland Barthes. These he criticizes for ignoring the gap that separates linguistic mental space from social space and for understanding the mental realm as enveloping the social and physical ones (ibid.: 5). It is true that Saussure paid no interest to the materiality outside language to which it refers, but this is in contrast to Peirce. To Peirce reality is matter as well as form and structure. Reality exists no matter if it recognized or not or whether it *can* be recognized or not. But reality is *also* constituted by human acknowledgement, i.e. ideas (Voertmann Christiansen 1988: 13-14). When

people observe nature, it is the patterns of the formed ontology that is studied. The revealing of such patterns is based on recognition of analogue patterns imbedded in human thinking although the ontology is more complex than the explanations representing them. What is represented as the synthesis of such a process therefore says more about the modalities by which people think than about the object studied (Dinesen 1994: 51-52). We therefore find it productive to develop our concepts and the relations between its fields by discussing them in relation to the notion of *spatial practice* of Lefebvre's.

Nature

In this section the heading *Nature* at the level of *Firstness* refers to the potentials of nature, *Nature*; at the level of *Secondness* the material entities are baptized *Environment* and at the level of *Thirdness* natural processes and forces are called '*Laws*' of *Nature*. In the following the ideas behind these concepts will be introduced referring to Hansen-Møller (2004) and to Peirce. Afterwards we introduce the concepts of Lefebvre's which we find corresponding to those of Peirce's. These are labeled *Energy*, *Space/body* and *Symmetry/mirror-effect* respectively.

In Peirce's so-called *phaneroscopi* – a term he used to distinguish his thoughts from the phenomenology of Hegel and Husserl - he criticized the idea of nature as everything created once and for all by God (Dinesen 1994: 45-46). Moreover he argued against an image of nature as a dead material or determined by processes about which it was possible to gain absolute knowledge. Instead he perceived nature within a framework of open, 'imperfect' time and found a structural analogy between the thinking *of* nature and thinking *about* nature (Dinesen 2001).

Peirce identified three types of processes of growth within evolution: one accidental, chaotic consisting of mere possibilities; another constituted by types of necessities based on the reactive dynamics of attraction and repulsion; and, finally a field in which the two former participate in a process of stabilization with some probability. Peirce found the characteristics of these processes comparable to the characteristics of human thinking and to show the analogies between them, i.e. between matter and mind became the subject of his *phaneroscopi* (ibid.). Therefore it makes no sense to make a virtual distinction between the thinking *of* nature and the thinking *about* nature, i.e. between world and language from Peirce's perspective, Dinesen (ibid.) writes. On the contrary world and language must be understood as two sides of the same coin as indicated by Peirce using the notion 'mind' also when describing natural processes. Within such processes, i.e. in biology Peirce claims that, the idea of arbitrary sporting and chance is *First*, heredity and laws *Second* and the process whereby the accidental character become fixed, i.e. the tendency to make habits, is *Third* (CP: 1.32).

Lefebvre (2000: 402) understands nature – natural or physical space - to be the initial foundation of social space. Referring to Carl Marx, he first of all understands nature as a force of production. But he needed a further

distinction as nature to him appears both as a source and as a source of energies – indispensable, vast but not unlimited, i.e. a *use value* (ibid.: 343). Therefore he chose to distinguish between *domination* and *appropriation*. Further he finds it impossible today to escape an understanding of nature as being murdered by ‘anti-nature’ (ibid: 70-71) the latter taken to be abstractions, signs, images, discourse as well as labor and its products. In that perspective and referring to Nietzsche he claims that ‘nature’, along with God is dying because ‘humanity’ has killed both.

Lefebvre, like Peirce, criticizes the Cartesian split between culture and nature, i.e. mind and body, content and form. This split is - according to Lefebvre - what unable us to understand space as socially produced. What he therefore attempts is to develop a ‘unitary theory’ between ‘fields’ that are usually apprehended separately: the *Physical* – nature or Cosmos; the *Mental* including logical and formal abstractions; and, the *Social* (ibid. 11) together termed *Social Space* see figure 4. In that effort three concepts become important: *Energy*, *Body/Space* and *Symmetry/Mirror-effect*. In the following these will be compared to *Nature*, *Environment* and ‘*Law*’ of *Nature* respectively but to explain their mutual relations we will begin at the level of *Firstness* – with *Nature* and *Energy*, then go to the ‘*Laws*’ of *Nature* and *Symmetry/Mirror Effect* at the level of *Thirdness* ending at the level of *Secondness* comparing *Environment* and *Body/Space*. At the end of each of these descriptions we will exemplify how the concepts are used in this study.

~~Nature~~

The concept ~~Nature~~ is here referring to the monadic qualities that for example the sciences strive to understand but of which there will never be a full and definite description. The notion is crossed out to indicate the impossibility of grasping the qualities of *Firstness* except at the level of *Secondness* (Hansen-Møller 2004) as they are embryonic and inherent. They are not yet manifest as differences that make a difference, rather chaotic possibilities.

Peirce’s first category of the thinking of nature at the level of *Firstness* he owes to the ideas of the English scientist Charles Darwin’s about evolution as encouraged through natural selection. To Darwin variations are not understood as mere deviations but as the source for development of new species due to local conditions that either encourage or restrain development (Dinesen 1994:45). At this level free, spontaneous variations of monadic, chaotic qualities not yet realized, i.e. still potential, can be studied.

The universe before Big Bang or the potentials of a foster cell can serve as examples of such potentialities. To a person in the countryside ~~Nature~~ refers to the complete potentials of experiences and activities possible in a setting. ~~Nature~~ is the stuff of which dreams are made and which arise human desire.

Energy

To Lefebvre (2000: 13) physical space has no ‘reality’ except for the *Energy* by which it is organized. Referring to Fred Hoyle, he states that *Energy* is

not considered a content filling a container, rather something which produces space. It travels in every direction no matter if we look at the ultra-small or ultra-large and it spreads infinitely. Its qualities do therefore not depend on the level on which it is encountered. To define a centre organizing space is therefore impossible. Rather the universe offers a multiplicity of spaces.

Energy is inherent in bodies as well as outside them and it is what makes bodies act. First it is accumulated then discharged the release being what modifies space (ibid. 174-179). This transformation corresponds to the process of a mere possibility at the level of *Firstness* becoming concrete at the level of *Secondness*. In that sense it is found reasonable to interpret the concept of *Energy* of Lefebvre's as a qualitative possibility not yet realized and relevant to take it as an example of *Nature* at the level of *Firstness*, i.e. as ~~*Nature*~~.

In this study we will maintain the concept ~~*Nature*~~ to indicate the qualitative possibility not yet realized at the level of *Firstness* and under this label investigate what it is that our respondents take to be the material, qualitative potentials for experiences and activities in their surroundings given their personal capacities of all kinds. To one person it can be the fertility of the land providing the possibility to grow a specific crop that he especially appreciates. To another it can be the qualities of the possibilities for rambling in the outdoors.

'Laws' of nature

The field labeled '*Laws' of Nature* focus the attention on all the regularities human beings have adopted as obvious either from religion or from thesis asserted by the natural sciences as well as from other types of practices. They can be changed by new insights occurring at the level of *Firstness* of *Culture*. If such a new idea is described and finally generally adopted a new paradigm has replaced the old although the habit as such has not necessarily changed also. To indicate that the taken-for-grantedness of the 'law' is only a probability the term is put into quotation marks (Hansen-Møller 2004).

In describing the level of *Thirdness* Peirce was inspired by the theory of evolution developed by the French biologist Jean Baptiste Lamarck concluding that a perfect habit or form is developed from a less perfect. Lamarck also forwarded the idea that intrinsic characters are inheritable which is not approved today (Hoffmeyer 1999). Nevertheless, of Lamarck's ideas Peirce was focusing on the idea of a tendency within nature of creating habits or stable patterns within matter as well as within mind during time. The growth of a seedling into a plant that flourish and wither can serve as an example of the combination of the qualities from *Firstness* and the quantities of *Secondness* to the triadic relations of *Thirdness*.

Symmetry and Mirror-effect

Referring to Hermann Weyl Lefebvre (2000: 171) claims that *Symmetries* are found all over in nature be it organic or inorganic. They can be recognized in bodies in plane or along axis as left and right but are not only

inherent *in* bodies. And even though *Symmetries* can be calculated mathematically they are not forms imposed upon materials. *Bodies* – understood as deployments of *Energy* – produce space and produce themselves, along with their motions, according to the laws of space whether they are planets, crystals, electromagnetic fields, cell division, shells or architectural forms. This thesis Lefebvre finds so persuasive that he wants to extend it to *social* space. But as the concept of *Symmetry* seems to imply a circumscribed or *finite* space - a body with contours and boundaries – for example, it does not correspond with the idea about *Energy* having no centre and propagating itself within an *infinite* space. Therefore another concept that exceeds mere duplication and repetition is needed. To that end Lefebvre (ibid. 181) introduces the idea of a *Mirror-effect* also inspired by Weyl.

A mirror is at once an object among others and an object different from all others. In and through a mirror trait of other objects are brought together but in a strange mode as it reverses left and right and reduces content to form. Therefore a mirror can be said to serve as the most unifying but also the most disjunctive relationship between form and content. What happens in a mirror is that the relationship between me and myself, my body and the consciousness of my body is disclosed in the sense that ‘what I am’ is transformed into a ‘sign of what I am’ (ibid. 185-186). The symmetry and mirror-effect introduced by Lefebvre can be taken as an example of a ‘*Law*’ of *Nature*, a very important example though as will be explained in the following.

In this project we maintain the concept ‘*Laws*’ of *Nature* as an expression of patterns and habits of nature, human as well inhuman. When analyzing the statements of our respondents we will classify expressions about unchangeable patterns or relations in respect to nature as well as to culture or society under that label. A farmer for example might express that without the principle of growth in nature he could achieve nothing whereas another person might state that nature is just a concept in the mind of people. Such – often implicit considerations about nature - serves as guidelines for behavior and arguments of the interviewed.

Environment

By the term *Environment* Hansen-Møller (2004) refers to the physical entities, forces and structures before they are interpreted or categorized. They are the differences that make a difference. As matter or patterns of remarkable, quantifiable differences a concrete lake, hillside or pattern of living fences as well as a road or grocery store can serve as examples of *Environment* although it must be remembered that these elements are not yet interpreted as such and in and by themselves are indifferent of their definition in the mind of another. *Environment* is the materiality that we can mold but of which the molding changes us equally whether we are aware of it or not.

Describing the thinking of nature in its aspect of *Secondness* Peirce was inspired by the ideas of the French mathematician and physicist Pierre

Simon Laplace's of a principle of forces of *attraction* and *repulsion*. Such forces work mechanical all over and are measurable or quantitative. Though, what is especially interesting is that these phenomena are predictable by necessity because they do not change over time within the frames of a known universe. At this level evolution is considered based on the conditions necessary for stabilizing processes (Dinesen 1994:45).

Space/body

To Lefebvre, long before the 'I' began to appear as a split and divided, i.e. as Logos, was Topos, production of space. The whole history of life he characterizes as an incessant diversification and intensification of the interaction between inside and outside (2000: 174-176). This leads us to the level of *Secondness*.

As an example of the production of space Lefebvre (ibid.: 173) uses a spider and its web. The web begins with the production of a body extends into the production of a productive secretion of a 'residence' which also serves as a tool or means for the survival of the spider. Thus, like human groups, the spider is capable of demarcating space and orienting itself. It can create networks and links, symmetries and asymmetries, and it is able to project beyond its own body these dualities which help constitute its body as they do the animal's relationship to itself and its productive and reproductive acts. What is important here is that the spatial indicators are first of all qualified by the body. When the spider becomes aware of another insect – a fly for example - the other turns into an object of expenditures of energies such as aggression and desire. This corresponds to Peirce's idea about *attraction* and *repulsion* at this level. Further, these feelings according to Lefebvre (2000: 174) are expressed through *gestures*, *traces* or *marks*, not consciously though, but 'just as if'. *Gestures* he takes in a broad sense but in relation to behavior finds that they always have a goal. *Traces* and *marks* on the other hand are not to be considered 'concepts' or signs in a human sense, yet everything happen 'just as though'. *Marks* are notably excreta such as urine and are often indicators of affects. Likewise, Peirce at this level in his semiotics refers to *Sinsigns* (CP: 2.245) being an actual existing thing or event 'being only once', Hansen-Møller (2003: 18) labeling them *Marks* within mapping and planning referring to tests of pen, colors and the like without meaning.

To Lefebvre *traces* and *marks* were produced long before formal knowledge was developed and long before thought space, and spatial thought began *reproducing*. But analogous types of exchange can still be found between the members of society relating and situating them-selves in space thereby becoming subjects assuming different roles and positions. In that context space serves a subject as a mediator in the sense that any movement out of such position is enough to get another view of objects or subjects in question, according to Lefebvre (2000: 184). Based on these considerations he concludes that space is the shifting intersection between that which touches, penetrates, threatens or benefits *my* body on the one hand, and all other bodies on the other (ibid. 184). As such, space which contains the preconditions of another form of life simultaneously prohibits what those

conditions make possible. In other words, the concept *Space* can be understood as *my* bodily space and those of others being in a dyadic state of exchange reproducing one another simultaneously. Thereby the meaning of the concept of *Environment* described in the above can be extended from actual matter be it the results of physical interventions of an active collaborator without which there would be neither subjects nor objects or not. An important point of this conclusion is that the recipient of an effect is as important as the ‘thing’ responsible for the difference. Concretely there exist a reciprocal re-production of body and space within a specific time implemented by the ever-renewed to-and-fro reflection between body and world due to the law of the mirror-effect. According to Lefebvre the consequence hereof is that any change of position is enough to make clear what was formerly obscure the meaning of which will be described under the heading *Experience* any decipherment being perpetual and part and parcel of the way in which existence of space is established as subjective as well as objective. To us these thoughts corresponds to Peirce’s idea of a structural analogy between the thinking *of* nature and the thinking *about* nature the consequence being that the term *Environment* will be changed to *Space-relation* to indicate the dyadic reciprocity between the sensed and the sense-able.

In this investigation we will use the term *Space-relation* to indicate quantifiable relations between the body of the respondents and the concrete space in which they subsist at a certain point of time whether he notices it or not, i.e. the conditioning conditions relating subject and object. To some this definition might seem comparable to the meaning of the concept of a habitat within biology but to us that notion describes a more or less definable entity seen from outside, not the internal relations between species and their physical living conditions. Further, Hansen-Møller use the term *Habitat* as a category of *Landscape* which will be shown later. What is usually called farming could be an example of a *Space-relation* meaning the positive and negative but yet un-interpreted relation between the state of the soil and the cultivation at a given time.

In sum, the qualitative possibilities of *Nature* at the level of *Firstness* has been elaborated with *Energy* as an example. The actual, quantitative relational differences at the level of *Secondness* formerly baptized *Environment* has been broadened with an understanding of the necessity of the reciprocity between body and space, i.e. sign-giver and sign-receiver, and is consequently renamed *Space-relation*. Finally, at the level of *Thirdness*, i.e. as examples of ‘*Laws*’ of *Nature* we have found a correspondence between Lefebvre’s idea of a *Mirror-effect* guiding the understanding of self and not-self and Peirce’s structural analogy between thinking *of* nature and thinking *about* nature.

Culture

In this context the concept *Culture* refers to the ability to interpret differences in the surroundings by groups of people as well as of individual subjects. In the following the meaning of the concept will be described first by briefly referring to the concepts of Hansen-Møller (2004): *Sense* at the

level of *Firstness*, *Experience* at the level of *Secondness* and *Argument* at the level of *Thirdness* respectively. These will within each section be elaborated by the understandings of Peirce's and Lefebvre's ending with a summary exemplifying how the concepts are employed in this analysis.

Peirce (CP: 1.350) use the concepts *feeling*, *actions* or *oppositions* and *synthetic thought* to explain what is at stake. To Lefebvre (2000:12-13), the successive levels constituted by the senses prefigure the layers of social space and their interconnections. Within the order of the body, space to him is either *perceived*, *conceived* or *lived* respectively. These modes of comprehension are interconnected so that a person is able to move from one to another without confusion. Nevertheless, the relations between the three aspects of cognition are neither simple or stable, nor 'positive'. To some degree they can be considered conscious but are at the same time disregarded or misconstrued. To some degree they are unconscious as they are generally unknown (ibid. 46). Whether they constitute a whole or not, Lefebvre argues, depends on the possibility of the establishment of a common language, a consensus or a code (ibid. 40).

Sense

To understand the concept ~~*Sense*~~ is difficult as it will always be an outside representation of an inside familiarity.

At the level of *Firstness* the relation to the surroundings are based on immediate consciousness as feelings and ideas being qualitative abilities as when we say 'she has a sense for that' as well as to sensations of outside objects through the five senses before they are being cognized. The notion ~~*Sense*~~ is crossed out to indicate that it is impossible to share ideas, feelings or sensations. To be sharable they have to be accepted or denied, i.e. transferred to the level of cognition or *Secondness* as they are part of a *life form*, something taken for granted imbedded in what is considered '*Laws of Nature*' (Hansen-Møller (2004).

To Peirce the *Firstness* of interpretation is characterized as a *feeling*, meaning an instance of consciousness, which neither involves analysis, comparison or any process whatsoever, nor consist in whole or in part of any act. It is all that it is positively, in itself, regardless of anything else (CP: 1.306). It is not an event or happening but rather a quality of immediate consciousness (CP: 1.307). Neither is it different from itself from one moment to another. Therefore, if you ask what its content is, the answer always comes too late. *Feeling* is a mere possibility not limited to any definite 'subject' (CP: 1.332). Further, it is a state of consciousness in which the effect on us of other things or persons is overwhelmingly greater than our effect on them.

To Lefebvre (2000: 173-174) the most basic spatial indicators for any living body first of all are *qualified* as when the spider - referred to in the section about *Nature* - is able to orient itself in space. It is the most basic experience of space which existed long before an 'I' began to appear split and divided and long before space emerged as medium of far-off possibilities. Moreover, Lefebvre (ibid.; 171-173) generally describes the relationship

between nature and space as *immediate* in the sense that it does not depend on the mediation of an external force whether natural or divine. The realm of space *perceived* include the experiences of the sensory organs and the gestures of work turning the surroundings into a *Spatial practice* (ibid. 40).

As such, certain correspondences can be observed between the use of the terms *feeling* and *perceived* and to the *Sense* described above.

In this investigation the notion *Sense* will be used to indicate the immediate feelings and perceptions of being in a particular location such as the building serving as home and its immediate surroundings as garden and fields as well as the more distant surroundings to which the subject is in some kind of emotional and sensuous relation.

Experience

At the level of *Secondness*, interpretation of the surroundings is based on experiences – practical as well as scientific or artistic – with the *Environment*. Hansen-Møller (2004) uses the so-called *picture theory* of the younger Wittgenstein as an exemplary illustration of what is at stake at this level the point being that a picture serves as a model of reality to the extent that the relations between objects within the picture are taken to correspond one to one with the relations of objects in the so-called reality thereby establishing it *as* reality.

In other words, *Environment*, here a *Space-relation*, is conceived in different ways from diverse paradigms or by people with different roles or positions to use concepts of Lefebvre's. To a biologist the structure and elements of a particular space are interpreted differently from that of a farmer, a culture historian or an artist due to his or her education, practical experiences as well as what is accepted as a fact within a distinct part of society at a certain point of time.

According to Peirce (CP: 1.325), ideas of causation are predominant at this level as well as the idea of reality because the real is what insists upon us forcing its way to cognition as something other than mind's creations. Still, such interpretations differ as they can be chosen at will due to the qualities of sensations at the level of *Firstness*. In that sense *Experiences* can be characterized as *reflexive* (Lash 1997) and the whole field composed of different, chosen kinships or styles of life.

Peirce makes a distinction between *perception* and *action*. The effect of *perception* is such a prominent part of our life that it makes us conceive other things also exist by virtue of their relations against each other, he writes (CP: 1.325 of 1.336). When perceiving the surroundings certain things will shock us. We find them *attractive* or *repelling* and they make us think or act otherwise than usual. Reality insists upon forcing its way to our recognition as something other than mind's creation and makes us aware of ourselves and not-self. The surroundings so to speak urge us to act upon them or modify them. *Effort* and *resistance* are therefore crucial within experience and action as well as causation.

Lefebvre also emphasizes the introduction of self-awareness as the important difference between the *perceived* and the *conceived*. To him it is caused by the *mirror-effect* which turns the 'I' into the *sign* of 'what I am' within an imaginary area which is yet quite real the picture of the 'I' thereby being comparable to that of an 'other' (Lefebvre 2000: 185). This can probably be understood as follows: when a person interacts with *Nature* as *Relation* he transforms it into a social space, *Landscape* as an *Area*, and he is himself simultaneously turned into a social being. It is therefore not surprising that Lefebvre also claims that the 'reading' of space is secondary and considers it a reward to the individual for blind, spontaneous and lived obedience (ibid.: 143) where the term 'lived' here is probably not the same as used when he tries to characterize *Spatial representations* (see later). The result of the 'reading' or the 'intersections' of the surroundings upon us are sometimes felt *threatening*, sometimes *beneficial* (ibid.: 174) and causes the release of *energy*, i.e. changes. As an example of the *conceived* Lefebvre (ibid.:40) refers to the use of accumulated scientific knowledge which he, in reference to the body, finds disseminated with a mixture of ideology stemming from anatomy, physiology and from studies of the body's relations with nature, its surroundings or 'milieu'.

In sum, to both Lefebvre and Peirce the *Secondness* of interpretation is where the split between an 'I' and not-I/'other' or the surroundings is instituted the latter being conceived as *attractive/beneficial* or *repellant/threatening*.

In this analysis *Experience* is taken to refer to all the conscious and reflective explanations of the respondents for particular actions in relation to the space in which they are living based on knowledge or former experience. To a fulltime farmer for example afforestation might seem an unfamiliar mode of production and something he is only willing to do if the subsidizes suits him whereas a hobby farmer might do it on his own expenses to provide habitats for wildlife. Or when it comes to the social aspects of their living conditions, the first might explain that he is very much involved with what happens in the local school as he is at home at daytime and can pass by whenever it is necessary whereas the hobby farmer says that his social engagement locally is minimal due to long working hours apart from home.

Argument

At the level of *Thirdness* interpretation of the surroundings has a general meaning and serves as a synthesis, conclusion or law. Hansen-Møller (2004) use guidelines within planning as an example the legislative arguments expressing what is allowed and what not. Furthermore, in correspondence with what is considered the '*Laws*' of *Nature* an *Argument* is the necessary condition for a sign to become a *Symbol*.

Within time the priority of different *Arguments* changes. For example the first arguments for nature protection in Denmark in the 1920ies were the specificity and uniqueness of certain natural elements as a very old tree or a stone. In the 1960ies the beauty of the view of particular, larger landscapes

was used as argument for preserving areas for outdoor recreation. And since the 1980ies the purpose of preservation has been to secure habitats for wildlife against the industrialization of agriculture based on biological arguments (Holten-Andersen, Pedersen & Christensen 2000).

Peirce describes the level of *Thirdness* as the *medium* or the connecting bond between the absolute first and last. It is a *means* (CP: 1.337) which almost to perfection can be represented by continuity. Also *moderation* is taken to be an example of the triadic relation of *Thirdness*. As sign of interpretation *Thirdness* is a sign of the truth of its *conclusion* or of a rational interpretation (CP: endnotes of book 5) without which there would be no *Symbols*. He baptizes this sign an *Argument*.

Besides the *perceived* and the *conceived*, Lefebvre (2000:33-40) considers *lived* experiences both highly complex and peculiar because culture intervenes at his level. It works through associated images and non-verbal symbols, which are sometimes coded, sometimes not, and which are linked to the clandestine or underground side of social life, as also to art.

In this investigation *Argument* will be used as a category embracing statements about the physical or social conditions which cannot be discussed because they are found self-evident to the respondent. A farmer might for example claim that the politicians in the county have no practical understanding whatsoever of what it means to farm and therefore make dreadful decisions. In a similar line a horseback-rider might express that no one are harmed by a horse walking on their path every now and then.

In sum, the meaning of the qualities of the *Firstness* of *Culture*, *Sense*, is immediate feelings and perceptions. The understanding of the *Secondness* of *Culture*, *Experience*, is taken to be the acceptance or denial of the qualities of the sensations based on conscious reflections on advantages and inconveniences. Finally, the concept of *Argument*, at the level of *Thirdness* of *Culture* is interpreted as conclusive statements about the living conditions as such.

Landscape

We have now described the meaning of the categories *Nature* and *Culture* as analytical tools necessary to understand their mutual relations as social constructions, i.e. as *Landscape*, at three different levels baptized *Habitat* at the level of *Firstness*, *Area* at the level of *Secondness* and *Symbol* at the level of *Thirdness* respectively (Hansen-Møller 2004). In the following their content will be elaborated referring to C. S: Peirce's categories of *Object-relations*: *Icon*, *Index* and *Symbol* respectively. Afterwards they will be put into perspective by the categories of social space developed by Henri Lefebvre. His overall concept is *Abstract space*. As subcategories to that three different relationships between body, i.e. social practice and nature can be found: *Spatial Practice*, *Representations of space* and *Representational spaces*.

To Lefebvre (2000: 189) the power of landscape does not derive from the fact that it offers itself as a spectacle, but rather from the fact that, as mirror

and mirage, it presents any susceptible viewer with an image at once true and false of a creative capacity which the subject (or Ego) is able, during a moment of marvelous self-deception, to claim as his own. Landscapes, especially urban landscape, also have the seductive power of all *pictures*, that it can impose itself immediately as a *work*. We take this to be a truth also when it comes to the landscapes around Copenhagen and Malmö as they are highly manmade.

As it is often easiest to share things of which we have an experience we will start by describing the *Area*. Thereafter follows an explanation of the content of *Landscape* as a *Symbol* and finally we will elaborate on the concept *Habitat*. The following references to the concepts of Lefebvre will follow a similar order.

Area

At the level of *Secondness Landscape* understood as an *Area* is an expression of the causal relationship between what is out there, the *Environment*, and in here, *Experiences* gained through practical, scientific or artistic exchanges with these (Hansen-Møller 2004). The consequence of this relationship is that if the *Environment*, here *Space-relation*, is changed, the designation or description, of the *Area* must necessarily be changed accordingly in order for the *Area* to be a Peircean *Index*. To Peirce an *Index* is a sign which refers to the Object it denotes by virtue of being really affected by that Object (CP: 2.248) meaning that there would be no *Area* without the *Space-relation*. *Landscape* as an *Area* can be visited and left as you please. Its limits and content are different from that of other *Areas* due to quantitative differences as one piece of property is it from another or one region from another. The content of an *Area* can be categorized, mapped and changed according to different types of knowledge, i.e. paradigms or positions. Landscape ecology, anthropology, sociology, cultural history and the like can be examples of different scientific positions but also laymen differ in their *Experiences* of *Space-relations* as for example farmers versus visitors using the countryside for recreational purposes or newcomers as in this study.

To Lefebvre (2000: 38) the spaces of scientists, planners, urbanists, subdividers and social engineers all of whom identify what is *lived* and what is *perceived* with what is *conceived*) are termed *Representations of space*. Such spaces are tied to the relations of production and to the 'order' which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to 'frontal' relations (ibid.: 33). Further, they have a practical impact in the sense that they modify spatial *textures* which are informed by knowledge and ideology. Interventions occur by way of construction (ibid : 42), not in a physical sense as roads or buildings, rather as reproductions of social practices.

As an example of *Representations of space* Lefebvre refers to the graphics of an architect such as plans, elevations, sections and the like (ibid 361-362). According to him, these *conceived* spaces are thought to be *true*, despite or perhaps because they are geometrical and because the chief

criterion of their value of truth is whether or not they are realizable. Here Lefebvre does not appear as precise in his distinctions as Hansen-Møller, as to her - inspired by Peirce - there is a causal relation between *Nature* at the level of *Secondness*, i.e. the *Space-relations*, and the *Area* meaning that an *Area* would not exist without *Space-relation* whereas a *Symbol* would not lose its character were there no object but only if there were no interpreter, i.e. an *Argument*. This difference, the fact that *Symbols* often - according to Peirce - are instructions to a receiver to make things happen, and that they refer to a habit or law - in Lefebvre's example geometry - is what makes Hansen-Møller (2003: 25-30) use a *Map* without legend as an example of an *Index* and a *Plan* as an example of *Symbol*. In that perspective Lefebvre's examples of architectural graphics are rather *Representational spaces* the meaning of which we will elaborate on below. A designation on a plan for a specific purpose as afforestation might serve as another example of *Representational space*.

Nevertheless, it seems productive to exchange the notion of *Area* with *Representations of space* as the general ideas inherent in Lefebvre's concept expand its meaning beyond the above.

In this research project *Landscape* at the level of *Secondness* will be named *Representations of space*. Under this heading we will make conclusions about the relations between the *Space-relations* and the *Experiences* of the respondents interviewed expressed as causal relations represented in words, on maps, pictures and the like. To a farmer the most fertile of his fields might serve as examples of what to him is considered the core of his property, i.e. *Representation of space*. To a newcomer it might be his whole property.

Symbol

To Hansen-Møller (2004) signs such as a property map, a photo or a painting of a farm as well as a dissertation or a law can serve as examples of *Landscape* at the level of *Thirdness*, i.e. as *Symbols* because all conventional signs are *Symbols* according to Peirce (CP: 4.447). Further, to Peirce, a *Symbol* is a sign which refers to the *Object* that it denotes by virtue of a law, usually an association of general ideas, which operates to cause the *Symbol* to be interpreted as referring to that *Object* (CP: 2.249). It is triadic and in this context the law is considered to be the '*Laws*' of *Nature* exemplified by the mirror-effect of Lefebvre's. The value of a *Symbol* is that it serves to make thought and conduct rational, and enable us to predict the future (CP: 4.448). As *Thirdness* in general embodies continuity and is future-oriented it permits us to predict what is to be (CP: 1.381). In another context Hansen-Møller (2003: 28-30) use a *Legend* of a map embedding directions for future use as an example of Peircean *Symbol*. What is especially important though is that contrary to an *Area* or *Index*, a *Symbol* does not lose its character if there is no Object, as an *Area* loses its character without *Space-relations* but does so, if there is no interpreter - here an *Argument*.

Comparable to the concept *Area* Lefebvre introduces the notion *Representational spaces*. These are *lived* through their associated images and symbols (Lefebvre 2000: 39). Sometimes *Representational spaces* are coded, sometimes not and they can be linked to the undergrounds side of social life as well as to art (ibid.: 33). Lefebvre claims that they are the spaces of 'inhabitants' and 'users as well as of artists or philosophers who aspire to *describe* and no more. Space at this level is not subject to practical changes. Rather it is passively experienced through imagination that seeks to change and appropriate it (ibid.: 39). As *lived* experiences they are highly complex because culture intervenes here (ibid.: 40). *Representational space* is concrete and subjective and it is here that the 'private' realm asserts itself often against the public one (ibid.: 362). Products of *Representational spaces* are symbolic works, often unique and sometimes able to set in train 'aesthetic' trends that - after having provoked a time - run out of steam (ibid.: 42). In that sense these spaces are the loci of action and passion and of lived situations implying time and essentially being qualitative, fluid and dynamic. As such they resemble to a great extent a Peircean *Symbol*, i.e. all conventional signs. According to Peirce *Symbols* grow and come into being out of other signs, particularly *Icons*, here *Habitats* (see below). *Symbols* can deceive or lie since the association between a *Symbol* and its object is arbitrary and the interpretation consequently can be changed at will or overruled by new agreements (Gorlée 1994: 56).

In this survey the concept *Symbol* will be kept to indicate the meaning of *Landscape* at the level of *Thirdness* although the above elaborations of the meaning of *Representational space* seem immediately applicable. Under this label we will represent statements from our respondents about what they take to be positive or negative incarnations of the meaning of the physical as well as social surroundings in which they live. For example a farmer might take the view from his entrance stair as *the* symbol of his farmer. To a newcomer a particular gravel pit area restored for recreational purpose might incarnate what he understands as an accessible countryside.

Habitat

At the level of *Firstness* the relation between *Culture* and *Nature* is called a *Habitat*. This concept is inspired by the similar concept used within biology to describe the interdependence between living species and their place of living meaning that the consequence of leaving such a place might cause your death. For human beings such a place is characterized by what he or she takes for granted as it is created by the relations between ~~Nature~~ and ~~Sense~~ (Hansen-Møller 2004). The notion *Habitat* is as such pre-discursive. The reason why it is not crossed out is that while it stand for an internal perception it is also a manifest sign perceivable to others, and only describable from the outside, i.e. at the level of *Secondness*, never from the inside. It can be cognized as examples of practices where *Culture* and *Nature* are two sides of the same coin, i.e. a Peircean *Icon*, as when a peasant is so attached to his field that his body is being marked by the hard work cultivating the soil (Hansen-Møller: 2004). In that sense it seems close to the concept introduced above of *Environment* i.e. to *Space-relation*. It

differs from that in that a *Space-relation* is understood as a concept referring to a sign without meaning. It is so to speak mute until it becomes as *social* relation represented as an *Area/ Representation of space* whereas a *Habitat* is endorsed with meaning. Also the *Space-relation* is quantitative actuality whereas a *Habitat* is a qualitative possibility.

To Peirce an *Icon* is a sign which refers to the *Object* that it denotes merely by virtue of characters of its own, and which it possesses just the same, whether any such object actually exists or not (CP: 2.247). Further it has no dynamical connection with the object it represents; it simply happens that its qualities resemble those of that object, and excite analogous sensations in the mind for which it is a likeness (CP: 4.448). In other words, what to an outsider looks like the modest place of living might by the insider be considered the castle of his dreams.

As a third concept Lefebvre introduces *Spatial practice*. Such practice is perceived, i.e. can be found at the level of *Firstness* of *Culture* as showed above. Such a practice embraces production and reproduction and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation. It also ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion, which implies a guaranteed level of competence and a specific level of performance (Lefebvre 2000: 33). The spatial practice of a society secretes that society's space; it propounds and presupposes it in a dialectical interaction which does not necessarily imply that it is also coherent intellectually or logically (ibid.: 38). Overall considered, *Social practice* presupposes the use of the body: the use of hands, gestures and the sensory organs the latter corresponding very well to the content of the concept *Habitat* being a manifestation of the relation of the possibilities and qualities of ~~Nature~~ and *Sense*.

In the following we will use the term *Habitat* to indicate the qualities of social space at the level of *Firstness*. Thereby we understand a human relation of the same kind as the one within the kingdom of wild species as referred to with the similar term within biology. A farmer might express such a relationship by saying: "I am just a part the farm" whereas a newcomer on social welfare will refer to his place of living as "a jumping board" to something more suitable.

Sign categories Modalities	Nature	Landscape Social Space	Culture
Firstness Potentialities and possibilities	Nature	Habitat	Sense
Secondness Actuality and necessity	Space-realtion	Representations of Space	Experience
Thirdness Habits and probability	'Laws'	Symbol	Argument

Figure 4: The nine categories of Abstract space developed to investigate the meaning of landscape to the inhabitants in the countryside of the Sound

Analysis

After having made verbatim transcripts of the interviews these were read a number of times and all expressions that were found significant were put in one of the nine fields of the models. By that themes particular to each of the respondents were uncovered. This process was repeated several times in order to condense the most significant expressions of meanings of the respondents. In order to reduce the bias of the researcher the context of the meaning were checked with the transcripts as was the location of a particular expression in relation to the others. This sometimes made us experience unexpected relations of cause and effect resulting in rearrangement of the findings in the diagram.

To Peirce the 3x3 types of signs create 10 sign classes (Buchler 1955: 115-118). The consequence being for example that a *Space relation* is determining the *Habitat* and thereby what is *Sensed*. Simultaneously it determines the *Representations of space* and the *Experience* etc. in a pattern that can be illustrated as below (figure 6). In the final condensations of each interview the relations of the themes identified has been checked according to this diagram using it backwards from the Argument-Symbolic-Legisign to the Rhematic-Iconic-Qualisign.

By comparing the content of the map of each respondent (Figure 7 to 12) it has been relatively uncomplicated to identify thematic similarities and differences in their experiences, attitudes, behaviors and arguments and to characterize these by quoting themselves in the characterizing summaries as follows.

When the project started one of the intentions was to test and possibly improve the conceptual model based on experiences gained from the empirical practice. This did not happen. On the contrary the model was improved before it was actually put into use by the concepts of Lefebvre.

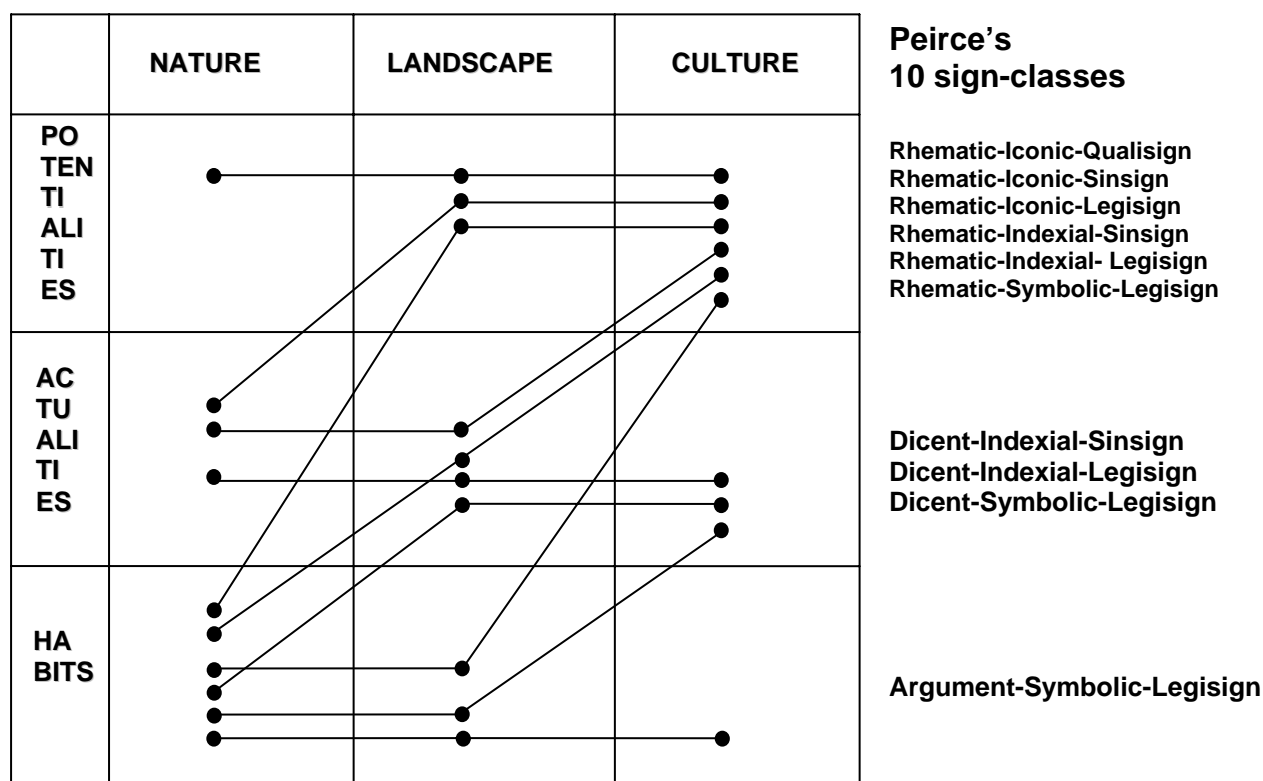


Figure 5: Diagram of the 10 sign-classes in Peirce's semiotics

Moreover, in the process of analysis it became obvious that further guidelines qualifying the actual positioning of the different quotes of the respondents were needed. To that end the 10 sign categories of Peirce's as showed in figure 4 were found useful. The outcome hereof is that it is possible to follow the 'lines' backwards from each *Argument* under the category *Culture* and see how certain statements are related and what consequence or influence they have on the social construction of the Landscape of the respondents.

When for example the Swedish farmer whom we call Anders states as a 'Law': *It is rare that you make mistakes even if you make stupidities*, this taken-for-granted-ness can be understood as his yardstick for feeling that he *cannot end up at a better place* than where he lives now and which he does not hesitate to compare to *Paradise* at the level of *Firstness*. It is also the reason why he continuously has engaged himself in all kinds of changes on his farm and in the production as *being flexible towards the market and demand* is crucial to him (see figure 11).

Similarly, owning an expensive bicycle and being used to participate in road cycling is what most importantly determines how the respondent we have baptized Søren uses the area and that he finds the quality of the terrain the feature that makes his *Habitat* a *Mecca* to him. The bicycle has importance for his mental health and serves also as his means to relate to other people at the level of *Firstness*. It enables him to bring daily necessities home and to visit friends and makes his *Representational Space* quite large. At the level of *Thirdness* the importance of the bicycle is reflected in the emphasis he

puts in stating that: *At some points I want the really good stuff. At others it has minor importance.* The latter statement among others refers to his decision of not owning a car. To him it is *not luxurious to own an expensive bicycle. It is a necessity* (see figure 8).

Findings

After having condensed the most significant expressions in the theoretical model above, we have summed up the findings in qualitative descriptions of the culture-nature values that are specifically important to the informants in the rural countryside close to urban centres in the Sound region. Each description follows the three level of the model in the following order: *Secondness*, *Thirdness* and *Firstness* and in them quotes from the respondent are represented in italic lettering. After each narrative we present a diagram of the analytical rubric with typical quotes from each respondent. The interdisciplinary cooperation in this project has been fruitful but may have had caused some discrepancies between the narrative descriptions and the content of the diagrams. However, this is a pilot study and it is our hope that the descriptions and the diagrams will complement each other.

The first two portrays in the following are of the well off newcomers from the Danish and Swedish municipalities. We have called them *Lars* and *Gunilla* respectively. After that follows the respondents with relatively small means named *Søren* and *Carina*, and finally we describe the meaning of landscape to the two farmers *Ole* and *Anders*. The names are all feigned.

These paragraphs are followed by an attempt to distinguish similarities and differences between the meanings of the landscape of the respondents even though the sample of respondents is very limited.

Lars: A nature lover

Lars is a married engineer with two grown up children that have left home. He is 50 years old and has lived in Bramsnæs for almost a year. He and his wife have lived in many different places because of his working conditions. Now they live in a thirty years old house built in a summer house area developed from a fishing-hamlet. He has a top position in his company and is used to negotiate with farmers and others interested in what happens in the countryside. It takes him an hour to drive to his job in Copenhagen every day.

Secondness: Movies of walking opportunities

Being used to move a lot in relation to his work has shaped the way in which Lars relates to a place socially as well as physically.

Lars and his wife have lived in ten different places during their marriage; first in flats, later in houses but always close to recreational areas where they never *had more than two houses between us and nature*. Moving that often has had the consequence that he never has felt himself deeply socially integrated in a community. Nevertheless, they have friends all over. Lars considers the place where he now lives temporary as he and his wife have

realized that they have to move once again in order to establish a suitable social network for their older days. They do not consider moving to where some of their friends live as: *When we are together, we are together* and enjoy one another's company, he says. Based on many moving experiences Lars is also aware that one of the best ways to be socially integrated in a new setting is to join the local sports organization. Based on recommendations from the neighboring wife he and his wife exercise in the nearby village and they have become members of the local boat-guild.

Maps are the most important means for Lars to *take the landscape upon me*, as he calls it. Before deciding where to go or drive for a walk to experience a particular forest or river valley he looks at the map and finds an interesting place within a distance of app. 20 km. Then he prints the map of the area out and brings it with him on the first tour. Next step in the process is to learn to know it by walking or bicycling. When he then has become acquainted with different places and wants to choose a place to go *I run the movie*, i.e. he recalls the route and the possible experiences and makes his choice based on that. It seems almost like was he reading a menu card.

What is of primary importance for him when deciding where to go for a walk are the rights of access. For this he uses an English term and calls it his *key issue* when it comes to landscapes. Problems of accessibility he returns to again and again during the interview. For example he refers to a path which is on the map. *The farmer plows it away every spring. Then we walk it again. If that isn't insane!* Referring to another spot he says: *If nothing else they [the municipality] could buy the 200 square meters of land. It seems ridiculous it hasn't been done because then we could walk from the village down to the forest.*

Landscape variation, especially provided by hills, is also important to Lars because when it is hilly *You unfold it [the landscape], moving up and downwards*. Therefore he finds flat areas boring as you *see everything from a similar point of view all the time*.

Lars works in Copenhagen which he does not consider part of the *Area*. He thinks it is *fine as a city for theaters and culture, but you don't need that 24 hours a day*. Buying groceries his wife takes care of in Roskilde where she works whereas minor necessities are bought locally at a gas station *which really has turned into a supermarket but doesn't create a local environment*.

The house in which Lars lives means less to him than the surrounding landscape. He speaks of it as *the plot on which my belongings are stored* and tells nothing about moderations except for plantings in the garden which he expresses as follows: *we have been pushing it a little*. From one point of view he would have appreciated to have more land. On the other he is aware that they would then have been tempted to '*fondle*' them as he calls it recognizing that it is impossible considering his long working hours.

Neither the municipality has a special meaning to Lars. This is due to the fact that by car you can participate in activities no matter if they take place in the municipality in which you live or the neighboring one. This, on the other hand, is one of the reasons while the social network in villages is

fading, according to Lars. People living there no longer have any thing in common, not even the church. An exemption to that and an example of community spirit he has found in the tiny harbor where he lives. There people *do things together*. To put pressure on the municipality and the farmers to get better access to the landscape he plans to use the organization of boat owners as a spear head.

In sum Lars's experience of the *Representational space* can be characterized as movies of varied walking opportunities within a 20 km distance.

Thirdness: Good craftsmanship of manmade, zoned landscapes

To Lars landscapes do not have to be untouched by humans for him to find them *extremely beautiful*. Manmade landscapes he considers as interesting as the natural ones because of their rich wildlife and not least because he finds them expressions of excellent craftsmanship. In line with that he claims that *Man can easily restore a landscape that has been raped...so you don't have to worry*. Likewise *tanks don't disturb the wildlife*, he says. Nevertheless he finds it *obvious that we protect landscapes leaving them to be real nature*. As a condensation and symbol of these considerations he refers to a huge gravel pit area near Roskilde that has been restored for recreational purposes and claiming: *I have always loved gravel pit areas ... not because of the gravel, but because the landscape is turned into something interesting in a few years*. He also mentions a highway in Jutland claiming that *if it is done properly a beautiful landscape will not suffer from a highway; on the contrary, its qualities can be underlined*. In that sense he can be considered a very modern man.

Lars also has a philosophy of planning based on a confidence in people behaving differently in different places. His idea is that zoning is a suitable solution to avoid conflicts and 'war' between farmers and visitors. What he wishes for is expressed as follows: *Here we have park-like areas, here we have managed nature and here natural nature and this is how you are allowed to use the areas ... simple rules as in the woods*. He understands that farmers feel they are put under pressure by people from the cities moving to the countryside because of its beauty and then three days later complaining over the bad smell. On the other hand he finds that the farmers will not suffer because people walk their field roads.

Firstness: Living in a safe cell prohibited the right to ramble

Lars's *Habitat* has less to do with his own property, more with the surroundings and he even claims: *The landscape is where I live*. He has been brought up in an area where he could *ramble all over* and this experience has obviously shaped his expectations of living in the countryside. To live in a landscape to him means to be able to find his way home if dropped from an airplane. Besides, rambling skating and canoeing are his favored sports. Performing them provides him freedom to *stretch the eyes* and enables him to enjoy the changes of light. The light of the fjord when canoeing he describes as 'high-light' in contrast to its 'shimmering' ashore. Unfortunately, to ramble as he pleases is not really an opportunity

where Lars lives now and he feels disappointed that *we are more fenced in than expected*, meaning that it is more difficult to go for a walk in the countryside here than in the other places where he has lived. *A walk is a tour down to the harbor, up to the church and then back*. There is neither access to the nearby beach nor to the forest. Nevertheless, this doesn't limit his opportunities of experiences as he instead takes the car and drive to the more accessible forested landscapes further south. To satisfy his urge for rambling Lars could dream of owning more land but on the other hand he is aware that *you don't have to own it to look at it* or walk there. He is also realizes that he wouldn't be able to manage it. In other words he lives fenced out from what he basically dreams of as the core of his *Habitat* and lacks migration corridors to its centre.

What he appreciates of his place of living is the *suitable proximity and distance* found in a small community. In such a place there *is a social relationship which makes you feel safe, because the people you meet when driving home are someone that you recognize more or less*. The qualities of distance are that *he likes to be at home when at home*, i.e. be undisturbed. A similar experience of proximity and distance he has even tried to forward to his children living in another village when they were kids.

NATUR	LANDSKAB	KULTUR	
POTENTIALITET	<p>Natur</p> <p><i>Kunne du ikke bare give mig et marsvins ret til at færdes på fjorden og en hares til at færdes i skoven?</i></p> <p><i>Du bruger dens [fjordens] lys.</i></p> <p><i>Det at eje den [jorden] er blot et spørgsmål om at sikre sig adgang til den.</i></p>	<p>Habitat Bostedet</p> <p><i>Parcellen det er dér, hvor mine ejendele står. Jeg råder jo i virkeligheden over et for stort hus på en for lille grund.</i></p> <p><i>... det er kommet lidt bag på os, at vi egentlig er muret lidt mere inde, end vi egentlig havde troet.</i></p> <p><i>... det ville være helt fint for os, hvis vi kunne kigge ud over en eng, hvor der gik en anden mands køer på.</i></p> <p><i>[om at blive boende] de næste 10 år er det nu nok the final destination...</i></p> <p>Landskabet</p> <p><i>Landskabet, det er dét, jeg bor i.</i></p> <p><i>Jeg bor ikke noget sted, før end at du smider mig ned sådan: "Buit", tilfældigt inden for 10 kilometer så vil jeg sige: "Nå, nu går jeg hjem, nu ved jeg hvor jeg er, nu kender jeg mit landskab".</i></p> <p><i>Hvis du hører det [fjorden i modsætning til havet], så er det en klukken i stedet for en brusen eller en drønen afhængig af, hvordan vind og vejer er. Der er pokkers til forskel.</i></p> <p><i>... området syd for fjorden, det er et utroligt flot kuperet område, hvor du uanset om du går på markvejen eller inde i skoven, så har du hele tiden en meget forskellig, en meget skiftende bevoksning og beplantning, og der er dyreliv i massevis. En masse spændende kig, hvor du pludselig siger: "Hov", der kan man pludselig kigge 30 kilometer én vej, hvis man vil. Så det er et landskab som er meget lækkert at være i.</i></p> <p><i>... det er virkelig fedt: bare tage skøjterne over skulderen hjemmefra og så bare gå ned til fjorden, og så bare: "Fjuu", udover.</i></p>	<p>Sans Bostedet</p> <p><i>... drømmen var vel... væsentlig mere jord... mere albueplads.</i></p> <p><i>Jeg er jo født og opvokset i et område ... hvor vi kunne strejfe rundt overalt... grænsen for haven og grænsen for det omkringliggende var i virkeligheden ikke væsentlig.</i></p> <p>Landskabet</p> <p><i>... det irriterer mig grænseløst - at hvis du færdes og siger: "Jamen jeg går sgu ned ad den hér markvej, jeg ved godt den er privat, men så kan jeg komme hen til den anden vej" - at man skal have dårlig samvittighed over det!</i></p> <p><i>... på trods af, at vi er flyttet mere på landet, end vi nogensinde har før [være], så er vores adgang til naturen faktisk blevet mindre. Det er lidt barokt... Det er ikke sådan at det er en spændetrøje, for du kan bare flytte dig, men...</i></p> <p><i>[jeg bruger naturen] til at strække øjnene på... det [giver] en frihedsfølelse</i></p> <p><i>Du nyder den [fjorden]. Du bruger dens lys. ... det skal du have oplevet for at se det.... tingene bliver jo klarere. Du har højlys på, du har ikke flimmer på.</i></p> <p><i>Du kan se krystalklart langt væk, når du er i nærheden af vand. Tingene får en renere farve... når du kommer ind på land, så bliver det altid lidt grumset, lidt diset og lidt støv, og som gør, at</i></p>

	<p>Det sociale</p> <p><i>Og når der reorganiseres [fx ved kommunesammenlægning] bliver der altid nogle nye muligheder, og der er også nogle, der lukker sig.</i></p>	<p>Det sociale</p> <p><i>... det dér med at du virkelig er dybt integreret, og siger: "Hér kender jeg alle mennesker, hér har jeg gået i skole med ham, der bor deroppe og deroppe". Sådan får vi det jo aldrig nogensinde.</i></p> <p><i>Der er den passende nærhed og distance [til naboerne], der gør, at det skal nok blive godt. Altså nærheden, fordi det giver tryghed, og distancen fordi jeg gerne vil have lov at være hjemme når jeg er hjemme.</i></p>	<p><i>farverne flyder en lille smule sammen. Det hele bliver en lille smule uklart... de år vi boede på Asnæs, så oplever du hvor ufattelig forskel der er [på fjordens lys].</i></p> <p><i>... et område, der er fladt, ensformigt uden væsentlige skift i, altså ikke nogen ådale, ingen åer, ingen søer, ingen moser, ingen skove...det er ikke særligt spændende. Og så drysset [med] nogle små landsbyer, som er lidt forsømte og sådan.</i></p> <p><i>Jamen der er da ting hvor du siger: "Det er ikke_pænt", ... men det er ikke sådan, at det generer_landskabet.</i></p> <p><i>Du kan godt gå en tur i en granskov, men det er ikke særligt skægt... den er jo ens.</i></p> <p>Det sociale</p> <p><i>Mens min kone og jeg har været sammen har vi boet mindst 10 forskellige steder... Vi har venner mange steder...</i></p> <p><i>... det er ikke sådan en vennenærhed [de søger som gamle].</i></p> <p><i>Det med at have andre mennesker boende vældigt tæt på, det er ikke fordi det generer, men et eller andet sted så noget frirum og noget albuerum...</i></p> <p><i>Idrætsforeningen, skytteforeningen og alle mulige forskellige mærkelige foreninger, har altid været en del af min tilværelse, og derfor vil det også være det nu.</i></p> <p><i>... en charme ved at vælge, at vi bor i et lille bysamfund, dét er den nærhed, dét giver til andre mennesker og [at] der er en social sammenhæng i nogle ting... Det giver en tryghed i det, at de folk</i></p>
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			<p>man møder, når man køre hjem til sit hus, dem kender man, og man ved nogenlunde godt, hvem de er.</p> <p>... nok skal ungerne vokse op trygt, men de skal altså også blive samfundsborgere, og det kan være svært, hvis man lever i en alt for lille isoleret putteverden.</p>
FAKTI-CITET	Miljø	<p>Område Bostedet</p> <p>... det er faktisk et sommerhusområde i sådan et lille bymiljø, som vel oprindeligt har været et lille fiskermiljø.</p> <p>... nu har vi skubbet lidt til haven,... [plantet] har vi sgu da allerede gjort mand. Nej, men vi har lavet haven om.</p>	<p>Erfaring Bostedet</p> <p>Hvis jeg, når jeg kigger ud af vinduerne og går rundt i haven, glør direkte ned i nabohuset, så føler jeg mig på én eller anden måde lidt begrænset...</p> <p>... hvis vi nu havde fået de hér tre-fire tønder land, så ville du straks være gået i gang med at nulre dem og forme dem og skubbe lidt til dem.</p> <p>Det er jo ikke så mange træer, man kan flytte rundt med [på grunden].</p> <p>.. det er nu meget rart, at man kan gå rundt om sit hus, som det passer én, og når det passer én. Har man lyst til at gå i haven med bar røv, så gør man det.</p> <p>Mens min kone og jeg har været sammen har vi boet mindst 10 forskellige steder.</p> <p>... uanset hvor vi har boet har det været tæt på natur. Meget tæt faktisk. Jeg tror aldrig vi har haft mere end 2 huse imellem os og natur</p> <p>... vi har altid boet i noget, der lugter af parcelhusområder.</p> <p>...[i] Vindinge... dér fik vi, hvad vi skulle have. Der var daginstitution, fritidshjem, skole, idrætsforening i landsbyen... det dækkede det, og så lå Roskilde jo i cykelafstand... Det var vigtigt for os,</p>

	<p>Naturtyper og -elementer</p> <p>...fjorden er jo fjorden, vi bor ved, men fjorden er også den anden side, Ejbysiden ned mod Langtved Færgekro og den vej ned,...og de skove har vi også gået i ...Ry eng, altså Ryområdet</p> <p>Det [landskabet] er unødigt lukket.</p>	<p>Landskabet</p> <p>... jeg vil tro, at hvis du sætter en passer hvor vi bor og slår en cirkel på 20 kilometer, så vil den være det, vi vil kalde vores nærområde, det som man kan sige: "Skal vi gå en tur?"... Skal vi gå hjemme fra, eller tager vi lige bilen og kører 10 minutter?</p> <p>[en gåtur] bliver ned til havnen, op til kirken, og tilbage igen,... det har noget at gøre med, at man for eksempel ikke kan komme til at gå langs stranden. Man kan ikke bare gå ned i skoven. Man skal altså sætte sig i bilen og køre ned på den anden side af motorvejen. Og baglandet opfordrer ikke til at gå en tur.</p> <p>På kommunens kort er der en trampesti Asnæsspidsen rundt. Bonden pløjer den væk hvert år. Og vi tramber den så til igen. Det er sgu da knald i låget.</p> <p>... selvom vi bor midt ude i naturen, så er den ikke så tilgængelig, som den gerne måtte have været.</p> <p>Det [området] er fjorden, som noget man kan hvile sine øjne på og sejle på og lege med. Det er skoven som man kan gå tur i, og så er det i øvrigt et ganske flot landskab.</p> <p>Hvis vi går en tur nu, så tager vi kortet frem. Så plotter jeg lige kortet ud, og så stikker jeg det i lommen. Og så skal vi ud og se denne hér skov, eller vi skal ud og gå i denne hér ådal, eller vi skal ud og gå i, hvad vi nu finder på.</p>	<p>...når begge parter var på arbejde, så var det en ramme for ungerne, der var tryk, men som ikke var så lille, så det blev for forkælet.</p> <p>... vi gider ikke starte forfra, ... vi har ikke 10 år til at lave det lækkert i... hvis vi nu gjorde dét, så kunne vi forlade det, når vi var færdige. Så det ville jo være helt sindssygt.</p> <p>Landskabet</p> <p>... landskabet har vi vel ikke rigtigt taget på os endnu..., så man virkelig véd, hvor de små lækre steder er.</p> <p>Altså, fra os og ned til skoven for eksempel, der er [der] kun landevejen. Der er ingen stier langs med fjorden.</p> <p>... det synes jeg egentlig er et key issue,... at de dér områder, som er frie og fælles, er i virkeligheden ikke særligt mange. Der er skovene, og så er det stort set sagt.</p> <p>Og fjordens tilgængelighed er jo vanskelig. Du skal ud på den. Du kan ikke gå langs med den.</p> <p>... det er faktisk vanskeligere bare at gå en tur ud af ens egen havedør eller havelåge hér, end de andre steder vi har boet.</p> <p>... det som sker, når du har sådan et landbrugsland af den karakter dér, det bliver jo så intensivt, så der ikke er nogen kiler, hvor du kan sætte din bil og gå en tur. Du kan godt gå i markskellet, men du kan ikke gå nogen steder, hvor ikke du i virkeligheden føler: "Nu træder jeg på mandens jord, gud ved om han kommer og bliver sur".</p> <p>Altså, jeg skal tage det [landskabet] på mig, og det gør du ved at gå ture, cykle</p>
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			<p>ture... Altså, strejfe rundt i det.</p> <p>Når jeg har taget landskabet på mig, så behøver jeg det [kortet] ikke mere... så ... ruller filmen. Så kan jeg gå turen inde i hovedet på mig selv.</p> <p>... det bliver næste års projekt, fra foråret at sige: "Nu skal vi have udvidet horisonterne". Nu skal vi have vores cykler, og så ud og se, hvordan det ser ud her. ... Hvad er der i landskabet, hvor er det, og hvor kan man komme til at færdes.</p> <p>Vi købte to havkajakker sidste år. Så kunne vi i hvert tilfælde komme på fjorden. Så køber vi formodentlig engang til næste år en lille båd.</p> <p>... dét at landskabet varierer i sig selv, men synsvinklen på landskabet varierer også. Nogle gange ser du det nedefra, nogle gange ser du det oppefra, nogle gange ser du ud over det... Du folder det [et kuperet landskab] jo ud, hvis du bevæger dig op og ned i det.</p> <p>Hvis du går i det flade landskab, så ser du i virkeligheden alting i de samme vinkler hele tiden.</p> <p>Landskabet folder sig mere ud foran dig, når du er tæt på vandet.</p> <p>... området fra Roskilde og ind til København og ned til Køge, altså det hedder jo ikke Heden uden grund. Det er ganske forfærdeligt kedeligt. Hvis du kan finde 20 træer, der står ved siden af hinanden og en pyt, der er større end du kan hoppe over den, så skal du være heldig.</p> <p>Jeg har altid elsket grusgrave - ikke for grusets skyld - men fordi de gør noget ved landskabet, som bliver spændende</p>
	<p>Indkøbs- og aktivitetsmuligheder</p> <p>Roskilde som nærby.</p> <p>Og småindkøbene, dér har vi jo ganske tæt på landsbyen en forvokset tankstation, som i virkeligheden er blevet et supermarked... den er faktisk fortrinlig. Dét den ikke har ... Det vil sige, den</p>	<p>Indkøbs- og aktivitetsmuligheder</p> <p>Vi bruger de store butikker inde i Roskilde, fordi min kone arbejder i Roskilde...</p> <p>Når ungerne kommer, kommer de med busserne til stationen.</p>	

	<p><i>har ikke nærkøbmandens skaben af miljø. Det er et indkøbssted.</i></p> <p><i>København er fin som teaterby og kulturby, men det har man jo ikke brug for døgnet rundt. Jeg har ikke.</i></p> <p>Det sociale</p> <p><i>Nu har jeg jo ingen landmænd som nabo, for vi bor nede ved fjorden.</i></p>	<p>Det sociale</p> <p><i>Vi går til gymnastik i gymnastikforeningen.</i></p> <p><i>Vi er medlemmer af bådelavet.</i></p> <p><i>Jeg har oplevet naboerne, og der er ingen problemer.</i></p>	<p><i>i løbet af ganske få år. Altså, går du derude, så ser du på hvilke planter, der kommer først, og hvilke dyr, der kommer først, og du ser at naturen, overladt til sig selv, så tager det 20, 30 år. Hjælper du den, så tager det 5 eller 10 år.</i></p> <p>Det sociale</p> <p><i>... at vi har valgt at gå til gymnastik i Kirke Hyllinge. Det sagde nabokonen, at det var et godt sted,...</i></p> <p><i>... når du vælger at bo med udsigt over fjorden, så screener du en del af samfundslagene fra. Sådan er det jo. Men det gør du ikke i landsbyen som sådan, fordi så snart du kommer 3 rækker huse længere ind på land, så er det billige huse, og der bor alle slags familier i de huse, kunstnere, arbejdsløse, håndværkere.</i></p> <p><i>Jeg har endnu ikke oplevet noget, der nærmer sig konflikt på det. [med landmændene om adgang]</i></p> <p>Transport</p> <p><i>Prisen på at flytte på den anden side af Roskilde er jo, at motorvejen er en pestilens... når trafikken er sur, så tager det jo ½ time at komme fra den ene side af Roskilde til den anden. Og det er lidt surt... Men det vidste vi jo. Vi ved også at motorvejen kommer - formodentlig når vi går på pension eller sådan noget.</i></p> <p><i>Motorvejen... skærer landskabet lidt over... altså de områder man ville vælge at gå i, ...men den er jo praktisk at have, må man jo sige.</i></p> <p>Kommunen</p> <p><i>... en gang om året, der bliver alle der</i></p>
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			<p>er tilflyttere i kommunen inden for det sidste år, de bliver inviteret til en orienteringsdag, hvor borgmesteren og nogle byrådsmedlemmer orienterer om byen, og så kører man rundt i kommunen og ser på institutioner, kirker og landskaber og bibliotek. Det er faktisk en fremragende ide, som jeg aldrig har set før... Der var vi selvfølgelig med.</p> <p>Der har været den kontakt, der jo er, at man går på kommunkontoret, hvis man har tænkt sig at købe et hus, så går man på kommunen og spørger om kommuneplan og sådan nogle ting... det har fungeret udmærket.</p> <p>Kommunen kunne købe noget brakjord og sige: "Det [adgang] laver vi bare".</p> <p>I virkeligheden skal der ingen ting til [for at skabe adgang]. Der er et stræk på 150 meter langs med et hegn, som man skal have lov at gå på. Om ikke andet så kunne man for helvede da købe de dér 200 kvadratmeter jord. Det virker lidt komisk, at det ikke bliver gjort, fordi så kunne man gå fra landsbyen og ned i skoven.</p>
VANE	<p>'Lov'</p> <p>... du vil gerne noget, men det er mere fornuftigt at gøre noget andet.</p> <p>Vi er ikke flyttet på landet, fordi det skal være et ideal</p> <p>Bostedet</p> <p>Men altså, hvis vi havde været meget bundet af social kontakt, havde vi jo ikke flyttet rundt, som vi gør... så havde vi jo valgt at blive boende, som de fleste andre mennesker gør.</p>	<p>Symbol</p> <p>Bostedet</p> <p>Romantikken er der ikke, men respekten for at det gerne må ligne et gammelt hus på landet, den er der naturligvis... du ser mange eksempler, hvor du siger: "Det hér, det er fandeme flot lavet". Det ligner stadig en gård. Den er ikke voldtaget, men jeg ved godt, inden er det en</p>	<p>Argument</p> <p>Bostedet</p> <p>... i virkeligheden så ville jeg godt selv have haft sådan et [stort gammelt hus], hvis vi kunne finde et ... Men den realistiske verdensopfattelse gør, at det nu i virkeligheden måske er meget</p>

	<p>... du skal ikke planlægge længere. Hvordan fanden ser du selv ud om 10 år?... tilværelsen skal såmænd nok bestemme det dér [hvad der sker, og hvordan det bliver at være gammel].</p> <p>... vi skal bo et sted, når vi bliver gamle, hvor det er smart at være gammel. Det er det altså ikke dér, hvor vi bor.</p> <p>Landskabet</p> <p>Man kan sagtens pleje et landskab, uanset om du har voldtageret det og gravet gruset ud af det, så kan du få et spændende landskab ud af det. Man skal sgu i virkeligheden ikke være så bekymret over grusgravene.</p> <p>... selvfølgelig skal vi bevare nogle landskaber, som får lov at være rigtig natur, men vi skal ikke være så bange for at integrere tingene.....</p>	<p>ganske moderne bolig.</p> <p>Landskabet</p> <p>... hvad fanden skal vi med et fredet landskab? Jo, det er godt for grønne skrubtudser og sådan noget, men hvor fredet skal det nu være, for at det er godt nok?</p> <p>Nogle af de bedste naturområder vi har med både fugle og dyr. det er militærets skydeterræner, paradoksalt nok, men det er det faktisk... kører eller går du igennem Jægerspristerrænet, så er det et forrygende naturlandskab.</p> <p>Hedeland er og bliver et ganske fantastisk oplevelsesrigt område på trods af, at det i virkeligheden bare er en gammel grusgrav,... hvis man gider abstraherer fra det, så bliver det skide flot... at det i virkeligheden bare er en gammel grusgrav, det kan man jo ikke se på fuglene og på træerne.</p> <p>... hvis du kører ad motorvejen til Kolding, så er den så-gu'-æde-mig flot. Den ligger fantastisk i landskabet. Dér er der altså lavet et godt stykke håndværk, vil jeg sige... hvis det gøres ordentligt, så kan man sige, det kan faktisk godt bære at lægge en motorvej igennem et flot landskab, for lægger du motorvejen rigtigt i det, så understreger du landskabet.</p>	<p>praktisk [at huset ikke er så stort], fordi at der skal vedligeholdes en fandens masse derhjemme. Fordi arbejdsdagene bliver nemt lange.</p> <p>... man [skal] flytte dertil inden man bliver det, sådan at man når at få et nyt socialt netværk, og at man når at blive en del af det inden, man bliver gammel, og derfor tror jeg i virkeligheden, at det er ret smart at flytte når man er 65 år. Hvis man endnu er rask, så har man endnu 5, 10 år, hvor man kan ting selv.</p> <p>Landskabet</p> <p>Deres [amternes] grundlæggende tanke er at beskytte dyrene mere end menneskene. Det behøvede man jo ikke.</p> <p>Vi [hans arbejdsplads] laver selv en masse svineri. Vi er selv i vejen for vores naboer. Vi bygger vindmøller på deres marker. Vi er sådan vant til at... det konflikter med skønhedsidealet eller svineriidealet. ... Så derfor støder det mig måske ikke så meget at se en fabrik. ...</p> <p>Om man ejer den [naturen] eller ikke ejer den, er i virkeligheden ligegyldigt, hvis bare der er adgang til den.</p> <p>... det [adgangsforholdene] synes jeg faktisk er noget af dét kommunen... burde kigge på.</p> <p>Jeg tror sagtens, man kan lave en regionplanlægning heromkring, som gør, at folk ikke skal bo lårene af hinanden, men hvor man får en sammenhæng alligevel, og ved at placerer nogle transportkorridorer i landskabet som gør, at du stadig kan komme på arbejde.</p>
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			<p>... fik du min kæphest med, at hvis vi skal have held med at lave en region, så skal vi have kigget på adgangen til naturen? Ikke sådan, at du skal indfører allemandsret alle vegne.... men der skal lukkes nogle kiler op så folk kan få lov at opleve, at de er i noget natur og lade være med at få lavet slagsmål om: "Er det dér en beboelseszone, er det dér en landbrugszone, er det dér en industrizone", for det tror jeg faktisk er uklogt.</p> <p>... på én eller anden måde må du jo graderer den belastning, du laver af naturen, så den kan holde til det. Det, der i virkeligheden bare mangler, det er de ganske få bidder, hvor man ikke må gå, at de bliver lukket op.</p> <p>... det er klart, at landbruget bryder sig ikke om at blive trængt af byboerne. Omvendt tror jeg sgu, at diskussionen ikke behøvede være ret lang. Hvis man blev enige om, under hvilke vilkår det kunne ske, og så holdt sig under de vilkår, så ville der ikke være nogen problemer i det... Jeg har sgu svært ved at se, at der er nogen reel konflikt.... der skal være nogen, der gider snakke med bønderne, så det bliver en snak og ikke en krig.</p> <p>Bonden tager formodentlig ikke skade af at der går nogen på han markvej... Og hvis han lod dem gå på hans markvej, så ville de lade være med at brokke sig over, at han lugtede, så det er sådan en balance, der skal være der, og som ikke skal være en væbnet krig.</p> <p>I virkeligheden er det lidt skægt. Man laver jo korridorer til vildtet. Man sørger for, at plantebælterne hænger sammen mellem skoven og mosen, så dyrene kan gå dér. Kunne man også lave</p>
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	<p>Det sociale</p> <p><i>Det betyder heller ingen ting... om vi [vennerne] ses 3 eller 5 eller 10 gange om året... Når vi er sammen er vi jo sammen.</i></p> <p><i>... de gamle, gamle vaner bliver slået i stykker... Og når der reorganiseres [fx ved kommunesammenlægning] bliver der altid nogle nye muligheder, og der er også nogle, der lukker sig.</i></p> <p><i>Kommunesammenlægningen vil også nok gøre det [øge tilgængeligheden], fordi de barrierer, kommunerne har givet, hvor man kun har interesseret sig derhen til og fandeme ikke over den næste mark, det bliver også lavet om.</i></p> <p><i>Alle mennesker opfører sig da forskelligt, om de går i en park eller i en skov.</i></p> <p><i>Du spiller jo ikke fodbold op ad roserne inde i Rosenborg park, men du kan gøre det imellem det store træer, og i Fælledparken gør du det også. Jamen folk er da ikke i tvivl.</i></p>	<p>Det sociale</p> <p><i>... [Lyndby] en lille havn, som i én eller anden udstrækning er et forvokset gadekær, hvor man ... så mødes... og dér gør man noget fælles... én af styrkerne er helt oplagt, at der er en social sammenhæng omkring nogle ting... de ting der sker, de sker faktisk dér.</i></p>	<p><i>sådan nogle til mennesker? Fordi, hvis du gjorde det, så tror jeg i virkeligheden du kunne lade landmændene have sine marker i fred. Så var der ikke noget problem. Men hvis du ikke har den mulighed, så går du altså før eller siden i hans kornmark... Det er da nemt, du behøver kun sætte pæle med tre forskellige farver.</i></p> <p><i>De dér forskellige trampestier og forskellige ting, som stille og roligt begynder at komme, de gør jo netop det dér: "Jamen hvis nu vi tager et par meter hér langs kanten, og kommunen giver dig et nyt hegn, er det så okay?". Så bliver det pludselig okay.</i></p> <p>Det sociale</p> <p><i>Men altså, hvis vi havde været meget bundet af social kontakt, havde vi jo ikke flyttet rundt som vi gør. ... så havde vi jo valgt at blive boende, som de fleste andre mennesker gør.</i></p> <p><i>Bilen har jo gjort at det [kommunegrænsen] ikke er interessant. Hvis den rideklub, du vil gå i, ligger i nabokommunen, så kører du da bare derover. ... kommunegrænsen... Den forsvinder inden vi får lært hvor den er.</i></p> <p><i>... der er stadigvæk mange der bor der [i Lyndby], som har boet her altid, men... der er altså også et generationsskifte på vej, og dem, der køber husene, kommer altså ikke fra Lyndby. Også dén landsby bliver brudt op ligesom alle de andre landsbyer rundt omkring storbyerne,</i></p> <p><i>I virkeligheden er det ét at problemerne i landsbyerne, at dét som gav et lokalsammenhold omkring indkøb og engang kirken, da man kom dér, det er</i></p>
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	<p>Transport</p> <p>... skal du køre en ½ time for at gå en tur så giver det ikke mening mere [at bo på landet].</p>	<p>svært at finde i dag. . Idrætsforeningerne gør det måske til dels.</p> <p>Det er da meget muligt at det [hjemmearbejdspladser] puster lidt liv i landsbyerne, ... men jeg tror det er en narresut at tro, at man kan flytte arbejdspladserne ud i landsbyerne.</p> <p>... jeg kan godt forstå hvis bønderne føler sig trængt. Folk flytter på landet, fordi det er dejligt, og så klager de 3 dage efter over at det lugter.</p> <p>Nogle gange kan det næsten virke som en parodi: Så åbner man, og så kan man få bondegårdsferie. Det går over i den modsatte grøft. Enten så er der ingenting, eller også er der næsten for meget. Man kan så sige, hvis det kun er én gang om året, de holder åbent hus, så er det til at leve med.... "Kom og se hvordan vi gør på landet".</p> <p>... jeg er nu ikke sikker på, at nogen af dem [de rige, der har sat en gård i stand], i virkeligheden, er slemme til at få sat hegn lidt for langt ud. ..., fordi de lever altså også i en verden, hvor de må flytte sig.</p> <p>Dér kunne man jo godt risikere, at du fik lukket landskabet frem for at få det åbnet op, fordi hvis de så har brugt, så mange penge på, at få skabt deres lille Paradis på jord, så vil de fandeme ikke have nogen, der går forbi med barnevognen.</p> <p>Transport</p> <p>... du kan ikke bo på landet, hvis du ikke kan lade dig transportere uden, at det spilder al din tid, fordi så bliver</p>
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			<i>prisen for at bo der simpelthen for stor. Hvis du skal sidde 2 timer i offentlige transportmidler for at komme på arbejde og for at komme hjem igen, så skal man edder mame være glad for sin skov eller sin vandpyt. Det hænger ikke sammen.</i>
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Figure 6: Condensation in the diagram of the Meaning of Landscape of the interview with the nature lover Lars

Gunilla: A horse owner – realising dreams about life in the countryside

Gunilla is a woman in her late fifties, since six years living with her husband on a farmstead located in the outskirts of the village. They used to live in a flat in Landskrona and had a summerhouse on the island Ven, but because of their interest in horses and riding they wanted to live permanently in the countryside (and found Ven too isolated in winter). Since 1975 the family has owned horses, but never a stable of their own, until they finally bought the farm where they now live. Gunilla used to work as a preschool teacher, but nowadays she is working at home, taking care of the horses. She has two grownup children, and the daughter and her family lives at a distance of about ten minutes by car. Except for them, Gunilla and her husband did not know anyone in the area when they bought the farm. They ended up in this very area mostly by coincidence as they happened to see a farm that seemed to be what they had been looking for, and they realized that it was for sale.

Secondness: A peaceful rural life

To Gunilla, the countryside seems to represent a way of life with certain qualities. It is quiet, peaceful and down to earth. Horses are of central importance in the life that Gunilla and her husband has created on their farm. They have been horse-owners long before they bought the farm, but since then the interest as well as the number of horses has increased. They happened to become owners of a good mare with a foal, and that initiated their interest in breeding. Currently they have a couple of promising young event-horses in training. In the stables there are also some horses owned by other people. At the time of the interview they held eight horses in their stables.

About ten years ago, Gunilla was working as a preschool teacher for mentally retarded children. It was a demanding job, and during that time, first her mother, then her father and her mother-in-law passed away: *And that was too much, so I really hit the wall.... I am still not completely recovered. But the horses, or the life here... I don't think that I could have recovered this far if it wasn't for the horses, and all the animals. It has had an enormous effect on me. It has often happened... when the horses are in the stable, eating their hay, then I go to get a bale of straw and sit down, close my eyes and just listen to them. And that is music for the ear.* The quietness and the contact with the animals are values of great importance for Gunilla.

The area where their farm is situated has a central location, in Gunilla's opinion. It is about five minutes by car from the highway and five minutes from the railway station, so they can easily reach Malmö, Helsingborg, Lund, Landskrona and Copenhagen. Moving to the countryside, however, one has to get used to the fact that there is no convenience store next door, and shopping and errands have to be planned. Gunilla has noticed that she is often not very eager to go into town. *It happens that I hesitate for many days when I have a list, a whole paper of things that I have to do. And I think in the evening that tomorrow I will do it, I will go there. And then, after doing this and that and this and that: 'I don't care to go; I want to stay*

at home. From the horse-owner's point of view, the location is convenient, with most of the sites of important horse riding competitions in Scania easily within reach. There is also an established riding club in the village, which is good. On the other hand, there is a shortage of suitable terrain for cross-country riding in the area, a lack of forest and a lack of riding tracks.

Gunilla and her husband are both active people with a large social network. They have two small dogs, they used to play a lot of golf, but nowadays the horses take most of their time. Since they moved to the village their social life is increasingly consisting of *people with horses*. Gunilla has found it hard to explain to some of her old friends that it can be difficult to go away when you have a number of horses to take care of. *I do love people, I think it is really great. But one might say that I am not as well-planned as I used to be.* Instead of the well-organized dinner-parties that she used to invite friends for, Gunilla now more often enjoys spontaneous get-togethers with other horse-owners.

Thirdness: A life with horses

To move to a farm and start up horse breeding was a major change for Gunilla and her husband, but, as she says: *We love challenges!* To have a stable with a number of horses means a lot of work, but Gunilla enjoys the physical work and the bodily exhaustion, which she compares to the mental tiredness that she experienced in her previous work. She spends a lot of time outdoors, and the work is quite dirty: *I don't normally look this clean, I often have dirt even in my scalp. And I don't change if I just go over to my neighbor. I can buy muddy up over my ears, and I think that is important. I am... a human being, I can dress, I can do hard work, I know how to do it, and I think that is significant.*

When Gunilla and her husband bought the farm, most of the land was sold separately to a neighboring farmer, while only a few acres were kept as pasture land for the horses. Today, they regret that they didn't buy more of the land that originally belonged to the farm, especially since the neighbor is currently planning for the construction of a number of single houses next to their land: "We did buy this because it was a farm, because it was the countryside. That's why we got a bit confused when we learned about the developments up there, the planned ones... There should be some distance; there should be some fields, so to speak."

Despite the potential conflict about the planned new houses in the neighborhood, Gunilla has generally good experiences of social contacts in the area. They have heard many positive comments from people passing by, about their horses and their house and garden. At first it was a bit difficult to make new friends, but when they joined the riding club they got to know a lot of people who shared their interest in horses. It is obvious to Gunilla that people in the countryside do care about their neighbors, and when you are new in a village it is important that you know how to behave: *You cannot go around and toss your head, believing that you are someone, then you will immediately come to nothing... I have to live with the people around here, to be able to talk and so on. ... because we are really quite dependent on*

one another, the way we live in the countryside. Things might happen, you might need help, and you have to be able to call someone.

Gunilla mostly enjoys the agricultural activities in the area, even though she is sometimes annoyed by the smell of fertilizers. Overall, the ongoing activities are in her opinion a prime quality of the landscape. *The countryside, as I see it here, is not desolate, so to speak. There is always some life around us. Here comes a tractor now and then, here comes the mailman to the door or beep the horn if he or she is bringing something.* From their previous summerhouse on the island of Ven however, Gunilla misses the sea and the sight of boats passing by: *You cannot sit and watch a tractor going back and forth across a field, but a boat, and ships and motorboats and water, those things you can watch forever. And that means that I really miss the sea.*

When asked about what she regards as nature in her neighborhood, Gunilla's spontaneous answers: *Nothing!*. For her, nature is primarily the equivalent to forests, and as the landscape where she lives is characterized by fertile, arable fields, there is hardly any woodland. This means that there is also a shortage of suitable terrain for cross-country riding which she regrets.

Discussing the possible future developments in the village, Gunilla is critical towards the building of new residential areas. However, she would welcome new small farms, suitable for horse owners. *Instead of new single houses you could create a living countryside with horse estates. Here there would actually be a possibility to do that.* In general, Gunilla is eager to declare that she is happy with her life with the horses at the farm. *I think that I am very privileged to be allowed to live like this.*

Firstness: A picturesque Scanian setting

Gunilla and her husband were looking for a farmstead for many years: *The ones that I liked my husband did not like and vice versa.* For Gunilla it was important to find a place that matched her idea about a picturesque Scanian farmstead: *with cobble-stones, and not too straight, like that, but with a bit of feeling, a bit of history, is always nice.* They had almost given up looking when they happened to pass this farm and noticed that it looked nice and seemed to be empty. They asked a few people about it and found out that it was to be sold. And they were able to buy it: *We had given up, but then came this one. So there must have been some sense in it, I believe. And I said okay, we'll give it a go for ten years. And now it will be the seventh summer, and I surely don't want to move in three years time. No, no, no. Next time they will have to carry me out in a wooden box, that's what I say.*

On the farm that they bought, the land had been used for cultivation of potatoes and vegetables, and the stables had been turned into storehouses for these products. The main house had been uninhabited for a while, at least a few months, but Gunilla found that the house and garden was in a very good condition. However, since Gunilla and her husband moved in they have furnished the attic, changed all the windows, put in new flooring and changed the wallpapers, built a guest-WC, etcetera. And still, she happily

tells about how good the house was: *The kitchen fixtures for example. It is the ones that were there. We have painted a bit, and changed some old machines and so on... To give it a personal touch.* The exterior has not been changed. Gunilla has learned that the house once had a thatched roof and she is sorry that the roofing has been changed: *Then we put on this asbestos cement sheeting. And that, of course, isn't very nice.*

Inside the house, the interest in horses and dogs is visible in much of the interior decorations, with for example horse and dog patterns on the cushions in the couch. Next to photographs of children and grandchildren on the walls there are also photographs of the family's horses. The kitchen is decorated with lots of old-fashioned household utensils. But Gunilla claims that she *usually keeps the stables more tidy than the inside of the house....The worst thing about the house was that it didn't have a name. We have looked in books and we have asked all the people around if the farm didn't have a name. No! But we have found a name for it, we have given it the name 'Pilgården' [Willow farm], because the willow tree out there is said to be hundreds of years old, more than one hundred anyway.*

	NATUR	LANDSKAB	KULTUR
POTENTIALITET	<p>Natur</p> <p><i>Lyden af hestene der äter – musik for örat</i></p> <p><i>Ro och frid</i></p>	<p>Habitat</p> <p>Bostedet</p> <p><i>Det, som är ganska roligt med huset, eller det, som är det sämsta med huset, det är, att det hette ingenting, nej. Å vi har tittat i böcker å vi har frågat alla tänkbara människor runt omkring om inte gården hette nått. Nej! Men vi ha döpt den, å vi har döpt den till Pilgården. Därför att den pilen som står där ute den lär vara mång... flera hundra år, åtminstone långt över hundra år i alla fall. När jag skriver adress, så skriver jag mitt namn, Pilgården, å så vägadress. Jag tycker det är roligt.</i></p> <p><i>... när hästarna är inne, dom står å äter sitt hö, jag går och hämtar en halmbal å så sätter jag mig å bara blundar å lyssnar på detta. Det är musik för örat... då har du inget annat val. Du bara lyssnar, så tittar man upp, och så pratar man lite, "Är det gott?" Man får inget svar, men man ser på öronen, mm. Så att, å sen är det väl också mycket det här med, att man söker lite ro, mellan varven.</i></p> <p><i>...när jag kommer in i stallet å det är lugnt å det är fridfullt, å jag går runt å byter täcken. Fanns det så en sån här bandspelare på, å någon utanför djurvärlden hörde det, då skulle jag nog ha första bästa cell. För jag pratar med djuren. ..jag får ju inga svar, men jag är, jag tror att det påverkar,...kolossalt mycket. Jag har väl en viss benägenhet att kanske skämma bort dom lite,...</i></p> <p><i>... vi har ju vår lilla tvååring ute nu som är helt sagolik. Hon är som en stor hund. Hade jag tagit en stol å satt mig i hagen, så hade hon... stått hos mig hela tiden. Så att hon är otroligt social att ha med å göra. Men hon har också blivit väldigt väl omhändertagen utav.</i></p> <p><i>... när jag går här i min takt, då, då, jag springer ju inte. Utan jag gör det med ro, för jag har kommit på det att det kanske tar en halvtimme längre, men det är det värt. Den där sockerkakan den fick vi inte den dan. Det finns att köpa sockerkaka.</i></p> <p><i>Hantering, bara hantering. In i boxen, ut ur boxen, lyfta ben, hela tiden... att ju mer du håller på, desto tryggare blir hästen. Det är det, som är det roliga, och... jag</i></p>	<p>Sans</p> <p>Bostedet</p> <p><i>Jag såg alltså möjligheten här.</i></p> <p><i>Ett av Vens bästa lägen...utsikt över hela Öresund,... [då vi] stängde grinden sista gången... kändes lite konstigt, men inte så att man grät.. Min mand säger: "Nej, vi pratar inte om det" Han tycker att det är lite svårare, samtidigt som han inser, att det funkade inte... man får tänka såhär, att den tiden man hade, det gav så mycket....golf, mycket vänner, mycket umgänge, barnen växte upp mer eller mindre där ute.</i></p> <p><i>... det mest ledsamma i detta, det är att min far inte fick uppleva det... Men han har varit här [i ånden]. Han har öppnat köksdörren och sagt det blir bra det här Gunilla, å sen stängt å gått. Så det känns bra... han hade gillat det. O ja, o ja, kolossalt mycket. Och även mor naturligtvis, men far var... man kan väl säga att jag var fars tös.</i></p> <p><i>Då sa jag, ... vi kör tio år. Å nu ... är sjunde sommaren inte sjutton vill jag flytta här ifrån om tre år. Nej, nej, nej. Nästa gång får dom bära mig ut i trälåda, har jag sagt.</i></p> <p><i>På särskolan,... det var ju tröttande på ett annat sätt. Där var du ju trött i huvudet... black out, så att varenda dag jag kom hem då,... det första jag gjorde liksom, det var att ta en kudde å lägga mig på golvet. Å tyst, tyst, tyst, inte nånting... Skillnaden då, då var man ju trött i huvudet. Alltså fruktansvärt och psykisk trött. Idag är man ju inte psykiskt trött på samma sätt. Det är fysiskt trött, den där goa tröttheten.</i></p> <p><i>Jag kan hålla på från klockan tio till klockan åtta om det skulle va så va. Men det gör jag ju inte... inte var dag i alla fall... men jag upplever inte det här som, påfrestande arbetsmässigt. Man blir ju slut när kvällen kommer.</i></p> <p><i>Jag tror inte att jag hade kommit så långt i min process [efter flere dödsfald i familjen], om jag inte hade haft hästarna, å djuren över huvudtaget.</i></p> <p><i>... om inte jag vet, att mina hästar mår bra och får den</i></p>

	<p><i>tänker, ska man på det en gång till? [om nyt føl]</i></p> <p><i>Man blir lite nyfigen, vad blir det av dom [føllene] .. man vill följa med.</i></p> <p><i>... stall å logar de ska sopas, det ska hållas rent, golv ska va rena... Sen är jag ju sån så att, det händer, ofta, att jag har renare i stallet än vad jag har inomhus.</i></p> <p><i>... sen är man ju mycket ute. Väder å vind, det spelar ingen roll om det öser ner, du ska, måste jag ut. Å sen är det, det, när man har,... med djur å göra, då kan man inte ha sina gamla vanliga ringar, för man får grovarbetarhänder. Rediga labbar.</i></p> <p>Landskabet</p> <p><i>... tystheten har jag, har jag vant mig vid, den är underbar.</i></p> <p><i>... hela detta fältet var fullt av lin. Det var nått så sagolikt. Det var en dröm å titta ut. Jag gick ute i fårorna så här, så satte jag mig ner på huk, så tog jag ett kort, en hel matta å det såg man då gården mot det, gula här uppe.</i></p> <p><i>Här är ju platt, ...</i></p> <p><i>... där har det kommit upp lite nytt, å där har det hänt det, å, man ser egentligen den stora bilden som... skönhet. Vi har lite liv runt oss, där kommer en å annan traktor, här kommer lantbrevbäraren å ringer på, eller tutar utanför om det är nånting som han eller hon har med sig... Vad blir det för sådd där? Blir det betor, eller blir det råg, blir det korn, eller blir det lin. Det är liksom hela tiden skönheten i förändringen med vad lantbrukarna gör åt det, om man säger... ja vet inte hur jag ska... bor man såhär så ser man ju års... alltså växlingen, ... på ett sånt underbart sätt. Hösten är ju bara sagolik. Våren är ju, där man ibland, när solen börjar, å man sitter å äter frukost, eller vi .. brukar ha en soffa här utanför vår och sommar. "Nej" säger man "titta på pilen, den, den är ju ljusgrön, det börjar ju komma nu."</i></p> <p>Det sociale</p> <p><i>Vi umgås ju inte med bybor, mer än hästbybor, om man säger så. .. Goda vänner är ju hästfolk också eller tvärt om.</i></p>	<p><i>vård de ska ha, då mår inte jag heller bra. Då kan jag inte njuta utav en resa eller... Men... jag ringer många gånger för att höra hur dom mår.</i></p> <p>Det sociale</p> <p><i>Hästeriet har ju gett oss mycket [social]... alla visste vem vi var [från början], men vi visste ju inte vem [de] andra bybor var.</i></p>
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		<p>... man lär sig lyset, man lär sig bilen, man blir lite utav en, "Uh, vem var det?"... man måste ha koll på bilarna... det blir ju automatiskt att man gör så tror jag.</p> <p>Man vet ju här, vilka det är, som bor där, å man hejar å träffar man dom ute så stannar man å pratar å så... det är ju lättare att bo här än att bo i ett hyreshus.</p> <p>Vi har en sån här lista...om jag till exempel... höra konstiga ljud, då tar vi bara telefon så ringer man en person, så stöter folk upp... på initiativ af byborna.</p> <p>Så känslan finns ju att här är, är ju faktiskt en samhörighet. Sen att man inte umgås, det behöver man inte göra för att känna samhörighet.</p>	<p>Jag ser inte såhär ren ut normalt, och det är smuts ända upp i hårbotten, å jag, om jag ska gå upp... till Kerstin... så, inte sjutton byter jag. Jag kan ju vara hur geggig upp över öronen som helst, och jag tror det är viktigt. Jag är en... en människa, jag kan klä mig, jag kan göra grovgöra, jag vet hur man gör, å det tror jag är betydelsefullt.</p> <p>Vi har haft lite hantverkarhjälp, annars så gör vi [arbetet selv] vi anlitar inte folk, om vi inte absolut behöver... jag tänker ju inte på det, som att jag gör det för att ..jag ska visa dom att jag kan... inte utgått ifrån att vi ska bravera... jag måste leva med min gård, jag måste leva med folket som bor här. Man måste kunna prata,...för vi är faktiskt ganska beroende av varann, på det sättet att vi bor på landet. Saker å ting kan hända, man kanske behöver hjälp, man ska kunna ringa "å snälla kom, kom, kom".</p> <p>När vi kände här, att den här byggnationen här uppe, skulle bli, då fick man ju [drar efter andan] nästan så. Det ska va lite avstånd, det ska va lite fält, om man säger så.</p>
FAKTI-CITET	Miljø	<p>Området</p> <p>Bostedet</p> <p>Det var mycket, mycket, mycket välskött hus vi kom in här... Trädgården var som om dom hade varit där i förrgår. Allting var så... välskött till å med dom stora tomma, både stallet och ladan, var hur fint som helst... Köksinredningen till exempel. Det är den som satt. Sen har vi ju målat å sprutat å lite så va,...så det blir</p>	<p>Erfaring</p> <p>Begrundelser for at flytte</p> <p>Vi älskade vårt hus på Ven... så la vi lite locket på med gård, för att vi insåg att... då kan vi inte ha huset på Ven kvar. Så att vi slog det liksom ifrån oss.</p> <p>Vi har alltså sökt i många, många år efter gård. Det vad jag har tyckt om har inte min mand tyckt om, å tvärt om.</p> <p>Alla dom [gårde] vi tittade på, där, det var så mycket å göra.</p> <p>Vi har investerat i detta och vill naturligtvis kunna sälja denna gården en dag, som en hästgård. För annars har vi gjort en dundertavla.</p> <p>Bostedet</p> <p>Ibland så ställer jag mig frågan: "Vad pysslar vi med egentligen, gamla människor?.. Å har satt oss i detta..." Men... vi ångrar det inte, absolut inte, tvärt om... jag ångrar ju inte en sekund att vi köpte det stoet och det lilla fölet, .. det har ju lett in oss i det här med avelsbiten... kontakten med professionell ryttare... sen så får man ju</p>

	<p>personligt. Å sen utvändigt var det ju lite synd, för under denna singeln, det var ju ingen singel när vi flyttade in, så ligger det kullersten.</p> <p>Terrassen då har vi byggt till här ute,... Fönstrena har vi bytt för det var väldigt dåligt.</p> <p>Det misstänks att den [gården] ha varit en korsvirkesgård, det var att det var halmtak på... på nått sätt har det brunnit ner den biten... efter det så lade man på det här förbaskade eternittaket.</p> <p>Odlar ingenting, köper foder. Så marken... är hagarna.</p> <p>Göslen .. får, hämtas här ifrån, utav vår foderleverantör,</p> <p>Landskabet</p> <p>... området Kvärlöv, Annelöv, på något sätt tycker jag är... bra, vackert på det sättet. Man håller ordning å reda här.</p> <p>... villorna som nu finns .. dom var där när jag kom hit. Dom hör till.</p> <p>... här har kommit upp villor...i Kvalöv... dom gamla ...invånarna, [kalder dem]... små legohus ... Jag har liksom inte tänkt så mycket, men ... förstår... ju vad dom menar, för det är det här lite ljusblått och lite turkos, .. Grönaktigt...</p> <p>Det är avstånd till grannar, det är avstånd till affärer...</p> <p>... mycket centralt,... vi har ungefär fem minuter ut till motorvägen... [och] till pågatågsstationen som tar oss till Lund, Helsingborg, Malmö, Köpenhamn. Rakt ner. Åker du bil så har du Helsingborg, du har Lund, du har Malmö, du har Landskrona. ... Göteborg, Stockholm.</p> <p>I början när vi bodde här, så var vi väldigt duktiga på å promenera med hundarna. Det har blivit sämre och sämre.</p> <p>Här är det, att gå med hundarna, det är, det är platt fall, om man säger så. Så att, nej jag kan inte säga, att det är något jag går till för att sätta mig ner.</p> <p>Ska vi söka oss till en natur, så åker vi till Järavallen... Det händer lite då och då, men inte så ofta... det är det</p>	<p>mycket igen, å går det inte, så går det inte... man får ju se sanningen vitögat, at en vacker dag, så kan man inte hålla på som vi gör.</p> <p>Unghästar, förlunger...det är arbetsamt, det är krävande, det är mycket tid, som man måste lägga ner</p> <p>Landskabet</p> <p>... jag upplever mig som så väl privilegierad att få lov att bo såhär, så jag, jag kan inte peka ut egentligen någonting som jag tycker är vackrare än det andra.</p> <p>Här är ju inte variationer. Men, det får man ju leva med,.. som ridterräng... å även som promenad, är det ju inte heller. Men man får ju välja, det är som sagt man kan inte få allt.</p> <p>Terrängen vill jag ju inte skryta så mycket med. För här är ju inte speciellt mycket att rida på.</p> <p>Ridvägar behöver vi...</p> <p>... skogen saknar vi... det är väl egentligen den sämsta biten, boendemässigt.</p> <p>Landskapet här är ju så att säga mer intetsägande [end Ven]. En traktor kan man väl [inte] titta på... köra fram å tillbaka på en åker. Men en båt å skepp å motorbåtar å vatten det kan man sitta å titta på hur mycket som helst. Det betyder alltså att jag saknar vattnet väldigt mycket... även om vi bara har tio minuter ner till Barsebäck.</p> <p>[på] Ven... där kunde man gå promenader, man kunde gå och titta på solnedgången högst upp, gamla kyrkan, stranden, lite så.... i Landskrona så gick man... hela citadellrundan och upp på vallarna där liksom, så man sökte sig till, å det var ju mycket, naturligtvis för hundarna.</p>
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	<p>Indkøbs- og aktivitetsmuligheder</p> <p>... här finns ju en ryttaförening, som dessutom har en fälttävlansbana, som är jättebra...ridhus, ridbana, terrängbana</p> <p>Det som finns här, det är alltså en vägförening. Skolan är liten, risk för att man lägger ner, om inte det händer nått.</p> <p>Villaer</p> <p>Dösjebro</p> <p>Häljarp</p> <p>Löddeköpinge</p>	<p><i>närmsta,... som är vackert att gå i, å så. Vi gjorde det mer i början när vi bodde här, än idag. Å det har mycket med att, att hästarnas tid tar så mycket...</i></p> <p>Indkøbs- og aktivitetsmuligheder</p> <p>... om jag ska åka å handla,... då blir det... snabbmathandling... så kan man köra till Dösjebro eller till Häljarp, som är lite längre, men kanske lite bättre butik. Ska jag handla lite mer, shoppa lite... då åker jag till Löddeköpinge, där har vi ju det här stora centret. Eller så åker jag till Lund.</p> <p>...jag har vissa, tandläkare, gynekolog ...å frissan i Landskrona...helst inte...det er lite tråkigt...</p> <p>Danmark...för lite... när vi är lediga så myser vi, vi tycker att det är så skönt att vara hemma, faktiskt.</p> <p>Det sociale</p> <p>... bor man vid den [denna grusvägen], så träffas man,...</p>	<p><i>Lukten ibland, så klart. Men, ... väljer man att flytta till landet så tycker jag... det får man finna sig i, det hör till. ... ibland kan det lukta så avskyvärt, ja. Då får man stänga ventilation å allt va, Men annars så tycker jag, att det är så naturligt, att det får lukta lite hästskit, det får vara lite dammigt, på saker å ting. Det hör liksom in i bilden, bor man på landet</i></p> <p>Indkøbs- og aktivitetsmuligheder</p> <p>Å när jag kommer in där [till Landskrona], jag vill bara hem. Jag vill bara hem! Så att friden ger mycket.</p> <p>Å sen lär man sig att... gud vad har jag hemma, nej jag har ingen mjölk, jaja, men vi får ta... Det blir liksom inte det där... bor man i en våning inne i stan ... så finns det allt i en närbutik.</p> <p>Det sociale</p> <p>Folk är ju väldigt intresserade utav oss å våra hästar, har jag förstått. Å tycker att det är helmysigt. Att gården är igång.</p> <p>Det var en änka, en dam som sa "Å jag sitter ofta där och tittar på dom, dom är så vackra". Å andra grannar som också tycker att å ska ni inte ha föl i år? Så man engagerar sig i... vårt liv.</p> <p>[när vi kom hit]... ryttare red förbi, tittade lite, folk promenerade mycket förbi här, lite då och då, man cyklade väldigt mycket förbi här, å kollade vad är det för människor... vi fick av flera stycken, "å vad fint, ni håller på här, ni håller på, nu får ni sluta" sa grannen,... "för annars får vi ju trycket på oss här". Så att vi har fått positivt av bybona, att det är roligt att se att ni håller igång det å så, å att håller ordning å så.</p>
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			<p><i>I och med att vi gick med i ryttarföreningen å vi hade då hästar... det är ju mycket hästfolk, faktiskt som har blivit det sociala nätet.</i></p> <p><i>När man flyttar ut såhär, så tror jag att den gamla bekantskapskretsen varar bättre än en nyetablering... om man inte har ett gemensamt intresse av, som vi nu med hästar.</i></p> <p><i>Umgänge med hestfolk: man kommer på klockan sju: "Har ni ätit?" "Ja det har vi", ja men kom hit då, så tar vi en kaffe och... nånting. Ja visst, eller fortsätter då å tar ett glas vin... små speciella kortspelskvällar, å dom brukar sluta ungefär framåt halv tre, tre. Det kan bli sådana där spontana grejer också.</i></p> <p><i>När man har gård å har hästar, så är det svårt å förklara för dom här människorna, att man inte har så mycket tid som man hade innan. Så det har väl varit lite jobbigt. Men vi har fått lära oss att leva med det, faktiskt.</i></p> <p><i>... blir man bort bjuden så vill en del att man ska komma klockan sex, det går ju inte. Vi hinner inte till klockan sex. Och då är det till folk som inte har hästar.</i></p> <p><i>Men... jag är inte så mycket planerad idag,.. med... nu måste vi ha ihop dom å dom å dom, för det var så länge sen, och så går det två tre dar i planering av en måltid. Det gör jag inte idag,... Då blir det kanske två par...</i></p> <p><i>... en flicka då, hon som äger det dräktiga stoet... vill vi ha hjälp, så, om hon kan så ställer hon upp. Å det är en hästtjej så man med lugnt, lugnt samvete kan åka härifrån.</i></p> <p><i>Nu har vi förhandlat fram ett väldigt bra system här så att dom har reducerad hyra, å så har dom två helger i månaden. För att, å då sköter dom det. År vi hemma så är det ju lite annorlunda, men vi vet, att vi kan göra saker. Det är skönt. Och man kan lita på dom.</i></p> <p>Transport</p> <p><i>Det hade varit käckt om det hade varit lite mer, vad heter det- kommunikationer med buss.</i></p>
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VANE	Lov	Symbol	Argument
	<p><i>... det är kul å va igång.</i></p> <p><i>Vi är väldigt intensiva, både Gunnar å jag. Vi tycker om människor, vi är sociala, vi vill helst vara med överallt och... så. Men det går inte alltid.</i></p> <p><i>Man... kan inte bara göra bra saker i livet. Man gör stora tabbar ibland också [ifht. afstå jord].</i></p> <p><i>Varje djur har ju sin personlighet.</i></p> <p>Bostedet</p> <p><i>Vi hade gett upp. Men så kom då detta. Så det var väl nån mening skulle jag tro.</i></p> <p><i>Har man en gång flyttat såhär, så har man väldigt svårt att flytta in i en våning igen.</i></p>	<p>Bostedet</p> <p><i>Jag ville ha lite mera pittoreskt. Lite... skånestuk... med lite kullersten... inte sådär rakt, boff boff, så, utan lite känsla bakom. Lite historik, är alltid kul.</i></p> <p>Landskabet</p> <p><i>Men just det här med öppenheten, med att det finns fält, det finns gårdar, det måste få lov å finnas kvar.</i></p> <p><i>Jag tycker att landsbygden ska leva, men man får inte förstöra den genom att göra villasamhälle.</i></p> <p><i>...man får inte stänga ute varken stan eller landet. Du ska ha en valmöjlighet.</i></p>	<p>Bostedet</p> <p><i>Jag tror inte jag skulle orka med att ha honom [manden] hemma [å arbeta]. Så ska man springa in å göra mat.</i></p> <p><i>I vårt ägo tror jag inte, det kommer att vara tomt ute. Det man kan göra är ju också en tanke, som har lekt hos mig, kanske mer än hos min, det är att man arrenderar, ut stallet... Å att man bor kvar, man lever i det,... understruket, att man är friskt å man orkar med.</i></p> <p>Landskabet</p> <p><i>Unga familjerna som jag har träffat,... dom söker sin tillflykt till lugn och ro. Jag tror väl kanske ibland att man skyller på barnen, men att det är dom själva som också känner att dom vill ha lugnet.</i></p> <p><i>Man la igen järnvägen här nere, så gjorde man en cykel-å gångväg. Å det hade inte kostat så många kronor om hon hade byggt en ridväg också. Därför att, här uppe å detta hållet finns faktiskt en hel del gårdar med hästar, Annelövs ridhus ligger rakt ner här. För att ta sig dit, så måste du ut på stora vägar, hade du kunnat rida rakt ner där,... det hade varit mycket lättare, för hästar är ju inte vana vid bilar från början.</i></p> <p><i>Jag skulle mycket väl kunna tänka mig att man, den mark som man kan tänka sig bygga villor på, som kan vara stadsplanerat, att man istället för villor gör en levande landsbygd med hästgårdar... husen får inte se ut hur som helst. Det måste flyta in med, så att det blir det här, lite åt, lite gammalt stuk, lite som smälter in i den gamla</i></p>

	<p>Det sociale</p> <p><i>Jag älskar ju människor...</i></p> <p><i>Vi älskar utmaningar [ifht ikke at kende nogen]</i></p> <p><i>Det går inte att komma ut och sätta näsan i vädret å tro att man är nått. För då åker du på putten direkt. Det .. var likadant ... på Ven.</i></p> <p><i>... man ska inte va rädd för att flytta till landet. Och trivs man inte, så tror jag, att det beror väldigt mycket på en själv.</i></p>	<p><i>gårds... som finns här omkring.</i></p> <p><i>Landsbygden ska ju vara levande, självklart, men man måste, ...inrätta byggnationen därefter... annars kan man ju bo i vilken villaförort som helst.</i></p> <p><i>... att Dösjebro kom med en pågastågsstation har ju gjort att, det sägs, man tror att ..det här kommer att bli en förort... så kan ..man ju bo i Häljarp, eller så.</i></p> <p>Det sociale</p> <p><i>I och med att vi gick med i ryttaföreninge,n å vi hade då hästar... och Gunnar... blev invald i styrelsen... det är ju mycket hästfolk, faktiskt som har blivit det sociala nätet.</i></p> <p><i>... det har det blivit ett förfärligt bråk om, att det luktar [hesteholdet], å man får inte ha hästar i villaområde, men dom var där faktiskt först, om man säger så. Så att det är ju en balansgång, det.</i></p> <p><i>Man [kommunen] vill att landsbygden, man ska ha ut unga människor, det ska bli ruljans på det hela... för att det ska komma ut mera unga människor, så måste man se om barnomsorg först.</i></p> <p><i>... å sen får man alla dom här kommunala å statliga bidrag för att underhålla den [grusvägen].</i></p>
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Figure 7: Condensation in the diagram of the Meaning of Landscape of the interview with the horse owner Gunilla

Søren: An incarnated bicyclist finding challenge and peace in rural isolation

Søren is a 48 years old, divorced man. After having had to close down his bicycle shop in Copenhagen he now lives on social welfare in a rented a room in one of the buildings at a farmhouse with other tenants. He has lived there for less than half a year. Søren's adult son lives in the nearby countryside and has helped him mowing and his daughter, with whom he has no contact for some years, lives in the neighboring village.

Secondness: A large mental and physical work-out space

Bicycling is what gives life and landscape meaning to Søren. As a kid he lived with his grandparents and when his grandfather retired he started repairing bicycles. Simultaneously, Søren started to bike still longer distances and after some time he went into racing. Since then he has been part and parcel with bicycles and bicycling. He started studying at the university but was interrupted by a bicycle accident in which he hurt his back. Therefore he opened a bicycle repair shop. He is a member of bicycle club where he lived before and rides a couple of times weekly in the season. Moreover, he expects his future social contacts in his new neighborhood to be build on members from the local bicycle club. The bicycle is his means to almost everything. He uses it for shopping, to go to visit friends, to be together with other people racing and to experience the landscape and be by himself. As he has been used to long rides he considers it no problem to ride to Copenhagen or similar distances in other directions from his home, i.e. most of the middle of Sjælland. In general he does not care much about the opportunities in cities except for movie theaters and he finds that the variety of shops in the neighboring villages is satisfying. Grocery shopping is done where he passes by going from one place to another but if he needs *bigger stuff* people owning a car helps him out.

Experienced from the bike the *scale and the variations of the landscape* are what he appreciates most due to the fact that it is *hilly and forested*. The arable land and the farmers have no importance to him and he does not know what is being grown on the fields surrounding his place of living.

He has chosen to move to this particular area for several reasons. First he had to sell his shop and therefore considered to start from scratch with everything. Being unemployed it has had some importance to find a cheap place to live and being inspired from his childhood experiences of living in the countryside with his grand parents he was looking for something similar. He knew the qualities of the particular area from bicycling in general and from passing by to visit his son living north of the area and has some friends who have recently moved out there. Finally, the other people living on the farm were found okay.

In sum, to Søren the Landscape as representational space includes an area within a diameter of 1-2 hours ride and is experienced as an outdoor recreational space for mind and body on bicycles tours just for fun as well as when going shopping or to the movies or visiting friends.

Thirdness A private cottage in a hilly landscape

Søren is some kind of a lonely rider. He has strong principles and ideas about what is good and bad. *There is a lot of things that I don't want to do for anything in the world, but there are some that I would do for something.* He appreciates quality when it comes to certain aspects of life and does not care much about others. *From some points of view I would like to have things of quality. From others they don't have to be that good.* For example he subscribes to organic vegetables that are brought out once a week. He also has a very expensive bicycle and plans to build two more. This he does not consider a luxury. On the contrary, it is a necessity as a means of transport and in that respect cheap compared to owning a car which he deliberately has chosen not to. The latter - the lack of interest in the things that surrounds him - is expressed in his relationship to his mode and place of living. For example he does not care much about clothing and he thinks that it does not pay to improve his housing condition at least as long as he does not own it. Asked about his ideal place of living he describes *a log-house somewhere isolated near a forest and some kind of water in order to get peace and quiet* even though he is aware that he has to keep up some kind of contact with other people. In general his social engagement with people is minimal except for the ones interested in bicycling. For example he does not know how to get into contact with the employees at the local grocery. Nevertheless, an abandoned farm (ødegård) in Skania, which he owns together with some others, he finds too isolated as a place for living permanently. When it comes to landscapes Provence, Toscana and Norway seems ideal to him as well as hilly areas in eastern Jutland especially due to their terrain as it is important to him not to be bored when bicycling.

Firstness: A Mecca for bicycling

Søren describes his home as *a house in the middle of a field* and he considers it a jumping board to something else, a temporary place of living with no major importance for him. In contrast, the landscape is from his point of view *a Mecca for bicycling*, the qualities being hills, forests and peace and quietness. Therefore he says that *I have settled where I belong* and wants to find something else in the same area. What he especially appreciates is that the scale is not so limited that you have to repeat the same rides always and that the terrain varies and that there are forests and sea. Biking gives him some physical training. *Then you don't think so much. It is a mental cleaning process.* Bicycling in such a landscape he finds mentally healing. In contrast, living in suburbs with high-rises he finds claustrophobic and in areas with one family houses boring.

Since childhood he has been used to live in the countryside with only a few social contacts. The possibility of developing close friendships with his actual room mates has had no importance for Søren's choice of place of living. On the contrary, if he finds a more suitable house he will move immediately, commenting that it might make them sorry. Likewise he has no expectations as to be acquainted neither with the neighboring farmers about which he says: *You just don't go and visit people living one kilometer away. At least I don't* nor with the staff in the shops. There is a new clerk

every time he goes there and he does not know what to talk to her about: *They don't look as if they want to chat... they look very secluded.* In contrast to the other places he has lived he finds the social workers in the municipality *more relaxed* and his overall impression is that contacts are more direct and more country-like at the town hall. His future plan is to keep up his friendships in Copenhagen and develop some relations to people in the nearby bicycling club if he feels they have something in common. For a living he has plans to get an education as physiotherapist, nurse or preschool teacher.

	NATUR	LANDSKAB	KULTUR
POTENTIALITET	<p>Natur</p> <p>Bostedet</p> <p>... der er da mange muligheder - potentielle - som jeg ikke har udnyttet, og til foråret kan man jo komme ud i haven.</p>	<p>Habitat</p> <p>Bostedet</p> <p>... det hér er så godt ud i sig selv umiddelbart, men kan så blive springbræt til noget andet i området nu når først, man er kommet ud på landet.</p> <p>Landskabet</p> <p>... jeg kan godt lide området. Altså hvis nu man cykler meget, som jeg gør, og jeg gerne vil, så er det jo et Mekka for det.</p> <p>... er højt til loftet udenfor. Der er stille. Man kan høre bilerne lidt. Men der er fred og ro. Og grønt om foråret.</p> <p>... om vinteren, så er det jo meget, meget mørkt herude. Så kan man jo ikke se så meget.</p> <p>... markerne i skumringen. Det var meget smukt ... med sne.</p> <p>Så kom jeg fra Hvalsø her i morges, og så tog jeg lige turen ind igennem skoven; der var lige en ny vej. Sådan bruger jeg området. Det er ren nydelse.</p> <p>- og stilheden, ja, den kan jeg godt lide.</p>	<p>Sans</p> <p>Bostedet</p> <p>Jeg har altid gerne ville bo på landet. Det trives jeg egentlig bedst med.</p> <p>... jeg [er] kommet derhen, hvor jeg hører hjemme, og det kommer nok helt tilbage fra dengang hos mine bedsteforældre. Det synes jeg, var den bedste del af min barndom. ...[De] havde et lillebitte landbrug ..., med udsigt over havet ... og det klarede de sig ... for. Stille og roligt. ... Der var ikke nogen andre børn, men det var også lige meget. Dem så jeg jo til hverdag.</p> <p>... det er ikke sådan det, jeg går og drømmer om, at få høns og kaniner og alt det der.</p> <p>... jeg kunne i hvert tilfælde godt tænke mig at blive boende på landet.</p> <p>... i Brøndby Strand, dér føler jeg mig nærmest klaustrofobisk... det gør jeg faktisk hver gang jeg kommer til København. Jeg kan godt lide at komme derind, men lige så glad er jeg for at komme ud igen.</p> <p>Landskabet</p> <p>[på en gåtur] ... så kan man gå og tænke over alt dét, man skal gøre senere, og tænke på ingenting, nærmest meditere lidt.. ... Det er en mental rensningsproces...</p> <p>... Det er også meget mentalt at cykle en tur, altså oppe i hovedet. Der er mange utroligt mange aspekter</p> <p>Cykling ... det er jo også noget i sig selv, og så cykler jeg jo sammen med andre ... Jeg kan også godt lide at køre nogle lange ture for mig selv... Det skal være blandet på en passende måde.</p>

	<p>Det sociale</p> <p><i>... hvad skal man sige til én, man ikke kender?</i></p>	<p><i>Jeg har ikke lyst til at lave særligt meget om på det [landskabet].</i></p> <p>Det sociale</p> <p><i>[Netværket] i Albertslund. Jeg har lige været inde og besøge nogle af dem, ellers ringer jeg til dem, og mailen er jo også god til det.</i></p> <p>Kommunen</p> <p><i>Det er sådan en lille snollet venstrekommune.</i></p>	<p>Det sociale</p> <p><i>Det er de andre [i bofællesskabet] sikkert kede af, men jeg har ikke tænkt mig at blive boende hér, resten af min tid, ikke lige hér i huset, medmindre jeg får de andre smidt ud, så kan det godt være.</i></p> <p><i>Det kommer an på, om jeg møder nogen oppe i Tølløse motionscykelklub, der passer til mig, så kan det da godt være, at de kommer inden for i varmen.</i></p> <p><i>... jeg har da tænkt mig at beholde mine rødder inde i byen</i></p> <p><i>De [ekspedienter hos købmanden] ser ikke ud som om, at de gider snakke så meget, men det må de også selv om. ... De ser meget afmålte ud. ...</i></p> <p><i>Mit netværk kommer nok til at ligge i Albertslund, hvor jeg boede og i Brøndby i min cykelklub - måske oppe i cykelklubben oppe i Tølløse. ...</i></p> <p><i>Jeg har overvejet en mellemlang uddannelse af en eller anden slags, fordi jeg er blevet halvgammel - måske fysioterapeut eller sygeplejerske eller pædagogik af en eller anden slags. Jeg tror ikke, at jeg gider lave cykler mere, i hvert tilfælde ikke foreløbig.</i></p>
FAKTI-CITET	Miljø	Område	<p>Erfaring</p> <p>Begrundelser for at flytte</p> <p><i>Ja, så sagde jeg til mig selv, at jeg måtte lukke butikken..., og så tænkte jeg, at så ville jeg gøre lidt ved det hele.</i></p> <p><i>Da jeg søgte noget, der sad jeg ikke og tænkte på mine bedsteforældre, men det er da en del af forklaringen. Også at jeg har været en del i området før. Jeg har altid syntes at det var et lækkert område... og så kender jeg nogen, der næsten har fået tilbudt et hus [herude]... det høre også med.</i></p> <p><i>Jo, økonomi tæller også, for nu har jeg jo lige solgt butikken, og så skal jeg jo lige finde noget andet</i></p>

	<p>Bostedet</p> <p><i>Altså det jeg har lige nu, det er eet værelse. ... det er meget godt indtil videre, ...</i></p> <p><i>Det er jo et nedlagt landbrug.... Der er en masse jord til, og så er stuehuset jo lejet ud som bolig, og så er der en bolig ovre i én af længerne. Og så er der noget med noget opbevaring og ting og sager. Og så er der en landmand, der bruger jorden</i></p> <p>Naturtyper og -elementer</p> <p><i>[Her er]_skove, strand og frisk luft. Hav. Bakket terræn.</i></p> <p><i>Bunden af dalen</i></p> <p><i>Markerne</i></p> <p><i>Agerhøns</i></p> <p><i>Sne</i></p> <p><i>Det ved jeg ikke så meget om, hvad der er af landbrug.</i></p> <p>Indkøbs- og aktivitetsmuligheder</p> <p><i>... der en lille købmand ovre i Kirke Sonnerup.</i></p> <p><i>... en Brugs er der også herude.</i></p> <p><i>Tølløse</i></p> <p><i>Hvalsø</i></p>	<p>Bostedet</p> <p><i>... det her er jo et hus ude midt i en mark, at der så bor nogle mennesker, det er meget godt.</i></p> <p>Landskabet</p> <p><i>Det ligger meget centralt det her, så jeg kan faktisk stikke det hele igennem indenfor 1½ til 2 timer.</i></p> <p><i>[Min] Aktionsradius ... Den er ret stor. At cykle til København regner jeg altså ikke for noget. Det har jeg gjort flere gange. Cyklet derind og så taget toget hjem.</i></p> <p><i>Nu her om vinteren, der tager jeg toget hjem, ellers er det ikke noget problem.</i></p> <p><i>Jeg tager til København jævnligt... en to eller tre gange om måneden gennemsnitligt... Jeg har været i teater her i sidste måned, og går tit i biografen, ... ellers kører jeg rundt og får en kop kaffe. Og så er der også nogle ting man kun kan købe dér, nogle cykler... for eksempel.</i></p> <p>Indkøbs- og aktivitetsmuligheder</p> <p><i>Jeg køber grøntsager hos Årstiderne.</i></p>	<p>[arbejde].</p> <p><i>Så tog jeg herved, og så faldt de [dem er bor der] i min smag, som det hedder... hvis de havde været meget pernippengryn, så havde jeg heller ikke flyttet herved.</i></p> <p>Bostedet</p> <p><i>Hvis jeg havde vundet i Lotto, så havde jeg købt et smukt hus i stedet for...</i></p> <p>Landskabet</p> <p><i>Det er et godt terræn, og der er pænt. Så er der heller ikke langt til byen. Der går jo trods alt busser igennem området.</i></p> <p>Indkøbs- og aktivitetsmuligheder</p> <p><i>Det er tilfældigt, hvor jeg køber ind. Jeg køber når lejligheden er der.</i></p> <p><i>Der er muligheder nok... med at tage til Tølløse og Hvalsø eller Holbæk, hvis det endelig er, eller Roskilde - altså udover mad.</i></p> <p><i>... i Tølløse ... er [der] både Aldi, Netto og Brugsen</i></p>
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	<p><i>Kirke Sonnerup.</i></p> <p><i>Der er en biograf i Hvalsø, og så er der nogle forretninger og en station. Der er ikke så meget mere dér. ... Tølløse er det samme. Så er der Holbæk. Den er lidt større selvfølgelig.</i></p> <p><i>... der er de tilbud derinde [i København] i kulturel henseende,... med biografer og cafeer, og jeg ved ikke hvad. Bylivet i sig selv og havnerundfart, hvis man ellers vil det, og museer, og hvad man ellers kan finde på. Strøget og handelsmuligheder og alt det der.</i></p> <p><i>Der er også nogle dejlige parker, og så kan man gå i biografen og se nogle gode film, som først kommer i fjernsynet om nogle år.</i></p>		<p><i>lige ved siden af hinanden, og så en Fakta i en anden gade. Det er jo rigeligt til sådan en lille by. Og der er både Netto og Fakta oppe i Hvalsø, og der er en Spar Købmand i Kirke Sonnerup. Og man kan også købe ind på tanken. Hvad skal man mere forlange?</i></p> <p><i>Jeg kender ikke andre [end Årstiderne], der sælger økologisk herude ud over dem.</i></p> <p><i>Jeg har en bagagebærer på cyklen, og så har jeg to cykeltasker. Så kan man godt købe ind til mindst en uge, ... og så hægter jeg mig på folk, der skal til byen, hvis det endelig skal være.</i></p> <p>Det sociale</p> <p><i>Jeg kender ikke de andre på den næste gård og den næste gård igen. Det gør jeg ikke. Det kommer jeg måske nok heller ikke til. Jeg har hilst på hende oppe på tanken. Men det er også forskelligt fra hver dag, man kommer, også hende nede ved købmanden.</i></p> <p><i>Der ligger et lille gult hus, nummer 25, det er vist også nogle, der kommer fra byen. Det vil jeg gætte på uden at have mødt dem. Det tror jeg de fleste er, der bor i de små nedlagte landbrug, og så bor der også nogle tilflyttere ude i Hvalsø, hvor der er bygget noget nyt.</i></p> <p><i>... min bedstefar ... gik de på pension i 1967 og flyttede tilbage til hans barndomshjem..., hvor der var en lille smedje... Så skulle han jo have tiden til at gå med noget. Så begyndte han at lave cykler for gamle damer... Så det er måske derfra det kommer... Så cyklede jeg også en del, da jeg boede derovre [på Bornholm] ... Jeg begyndte at køre længere og længere ture. Så syntes jeg, det gik for langsomt. Så blev jeg medlem af en cykelklub. Begyndte at cykle cykelløb. Rigtig konkurrence.</i></p> <p><i>Den [cyklen] koster et par af tyve tusinde, den ene af dem... Jeg havde en mountainbike til femten-seksten tusinde. Altså, det kan man godt mærke forskel på.</i></p> <p><i>Og så skal jeg til at lave én [cykel] til ti tusinde. Så skal jeg have en mountainbike til femten tusinde.</i></p>
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		Kommunen <i>Jeg troede først, at det var Hvalsø kommune, jeg hørte til. Men det er lige på den anden side af landevejen.</i>	Kommunen <i>[Dem på kommunen] er flinke og søde, og tager det også stille og roligt.</i> <i>... Der er lidt mere hyggestemning [på kommunekontoret] end de andre [steder] som for eksempel Albertslund... Mere afslappet. Mindre rådhus, færre ansatte og mere direkte kontakt... Lidt mere landligt kan man måske kalde det.</i>
VANE LOVMÆS-SIGHED	Natur'love' <i>Der er meget jeg ikke ville for alt i verden, men der er nogle ting, jeg godt vil for noget.</i> <i>På nogle punkter vil jeg godt have nogle gode ting. På andre punkter behøves det ikke være så gode ting. For eksempel vil jeg ikke have en bil...</i> <i>Så er der nogen, der synes at det er luksus [at have en dyr cykel], men det synes jeg jo ikke.</i> <i>Så er der nogen, der synes at det er luksus [at have en dyr cykel], men det synes jeg jo ikke.</i> <i>... jeg bruger [ikke] penge og tid på, at købe tøj.</i> <i>[ifht. økologi] Man kan godt være idealist, men man skal ikke være naiv... det er jo også meget nemt at være idealist på andres vegne.</i> Bostedet <i>Jeg kunne ikke tænke mig at bo der [i København] overhovedet.</i> <i>[parcelhuse] ligger i nogle kvarterer, der er ret kedelige ... ligesom ... sommerhus-kvarterer ... Det er ensformigt.</i>	Symbol <i>[det sted, jeg går og drømmer om] Jamen det er, at det hele går op i en højere enhed, ... Det handler jo om et sted, hvor man føler sig godt tilpas, og det kan man så ikke sige på forhånd, hvor lige præcis dét er.</i> <i>... det skal være en følelse, hvor man kommer hen og så: "Det er okay".</i> Bostedet <i>... et smukt hus ... Det kunne have været en bjælkehytte eller noget i den retning. Eller et udvidet sommerhus,... et almindeligt parcelhus ville nok ikke falde i min smag. Det skulle jo gerne ligge pænt også. ... Det skal ikke ligge inde i en by. Det skal ikke ligge, så man kan se en by ..., hvis det kan lade sig gøre. ... Det helt ideelle ville være skov og vand. ...[i] en passende afstand fra hovedvejen [for] Freden og roen.</i> Indkøbs- og aktivitetsmuligheder <i>... jeg har ikke så meget bybehov udover at købe ind, og skal jeg i biografen,...</i>	Argument <i>Der er nogen, der skal have nyt køkken hvert andet år. Man gider ikke bruge fyrre tusinde, hvis det ikke er ens eget. Man får ikke pengene ind igen, men man ved da godt, hvordan man ville have tingene. ... Personligt gør det ikke noget, at det ikke er top moderne, en mellemtung mellem halvgammelt og halvnnyt.</i> Bostedet <i>... Bornholm ... Det er for småt. ... den cykeltur man kan køre, [bliver] den samme ... jeg kunne ikke tænke mig at bo derovre.</i> <i>Jeg ville for eksempel ikke flytte til Lolland eller Amager. .. Der skal være forhold med terræn.</i>

	<p>Det sociale</p> <p><i>Man går ikke sådan nødvendigvis ind til hinanden, medmindre man bor på samme vej. Man går ikke bare sådan over til dem, der bor 1 kilometer væk. Jeg gør i hvert tilfælde ikke.</i></p> <p><i>Jeg kan sådan set det meste, men det har jeg ikke papir på... Det, er ikke noget, jeg tror, det er noget jeg ved, men om andre de så mener det samme, det ved jeg ikke.</i></p>	<p>Det sociale</p> <p><i>Man kan passe sig selv, men der [skal også være] nogle mennesker.</i></p>	<p>Transport og kommunikation</p> <p><i>Altså, nu har jeg ikke bil... Jeg synes ikke, at jeg er særligt romantisk, men jeg lever bare efter nogle principper... Det er den dér hippietid... Så tænkte jeg, at jeg ikke skulle have noget kørekort og ikke have nogen bil, og jeg klarer mig sådan set godt uden. Nu er jeg jo kun mig selv,</i></p> <p><i>Det [cyklen] er en livsnødvendighed, men det er også et transportmiddel, og så er det jo billigt. Der er mange kilometer i sådan en cykel.</i></p> <p><i>Der er ikke noget, der er svært herude. Det er bare at tage bestik af situationen ... Nu er der jo også internet her. Det er jo også et kommunikationsmiddel, der gør det nemmere at bo på landet... Det bruger jeg næsten til hvad som helst, både fornøjelser og praktisk.</i></p> <p>Det sociale</p> <p><i>... jeg tror ikke, de [lokale] har nogen speciel opfattelse af mig udover, jeg bare er en ny tilflytter.</i></p> <p><i>... jeg tænker, at det er nok sådan nogle højtindustrialiserede landmænd, ligesom alle andre steder... det er jo udviklingen, og det kan man jo ikke bebrejde den enkelte landmand. De bliver jo nødt til at følge med ligesom andre industrier... Så ligger der måske også nogle økologiske landmænd ind imellem. ... Men de er jo også rimeligt store. Det er heller ikke den rene romantik, men det er godt nok.</i></p>
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Figure 8: Condensation in the diagram of the Meaning of Landscape of the interview with the incarnated bicyclist Søren

Carina: An ambiguous newcomer owning an affordable house in a forgotten countryside pocket

Carina is a woman in her mid-thirties who defines herself as an *academic with a lack of means*. Since five years, she lives with her husband in a detached house, built in the 1930s, situated by the main road in a village. She has a higher academic education and works within her professional field. So does her husband. Both of them are working in Lund, which can be reached within 20 minutes by car or train. They have a three-year-old son.

Secondness: A forgotten pocket with annoying noises

Carina considers her new home to have a central location, with good connections to places that are of importance to her, work in Lund, friends in Malmö, relatives in Gothenburg, etc. Many of her friends, however, believe that she lives in *tjotahejti* [Swedish slang expression for a place in the middle of nowhere]. Carina describes the area around her village as a *forgotten pocket* in relation to the municipality of Landskrona and the Öresund region, a partly forgotten area where there has not been much development going on, and where house prices hence have been relatively low. Carina considers herself to live in the Sound region: *we didn't leave this active region in any way, we just happened to settle in the one remaining wedge of non-existence*. In her view, this non-existence is a question of time: *This is just a countryside that is waiting. It might happen that it will wait for 25 years, for... yes, I can't really define what it is that we are waiting for*.

Carina is familiar with the historic traces that can be observed around Annelöv, such as Iron Age settlements, a medieval battlefield, and a place where a foreign aircraft crashed during World War II. She enjoys the sight of Bronze Age graves on a ridge in the landscape: *It is very special when you see the silhouette, the Bronze Age humps sticking out. One feels that: Oh, what a long time... oh, how old this is!* She has also noticed fragments of medieval ceramics when digging in her garden. However, she has never had a look inside the village church, even though she is interested in medieval history and knows that this church is one of the oldest in Scania. She explains that by telling that she and her husband are both *almost agnostic*.

Despite her interest in the cultural heritage of the area, her main apprehension of the surroundings is that she finds the agricultural plains quite uninteresting, with few natural qualities. There are a few exceptions, such as a small valley with a *“river that is meandering a bit through the landscape, and in summer it is so idyllic that you can cry. There are cattle, stiff-legged heifers which are terrifically cute and still a little woolly in the fur*. Carina describes the herbs that flower on the meadows in the river valley, and the fishermen and women, the *boys and girls in green clothes, with fly-fishing rods and such things. And it all looks delightful*.

She has an ambiguous attitude towards the agricultural activities. On the one hand side she finds it *incredibly nice* to see farmers with tractors in the fields, ploughing and harrowing, sowing and harvesting, but on the other

she is worried by what she has heard about fertilizers and pesticides threatening the environment in the region. At times she is also annoyed by the smell of manure, by noisy machines in the village street early in the mornings, or by the *lousy farmer* who decided to harrow his dry fields at the very spring day when Carina had just cleaned all her windows. One thing that really annoys her is that she finds the village too noisy, a problem which she did not expect when moving out into the countryside. The sounds of trucks and tractors, dogs and even church bells are clearly a disturbance to both Carina and her husband.

Even though Carina is eager to defend her choice of place to live, she does not express much affection for the village itself. She describes it as untidy, and says that many of the buildings along the main road look *old and shabby*, ... *unfortunately without a patina that one might find beautiful*. As there are no shops in the village except for a pizzeria, all shopping has to be done elsewhere. Carina buys most of the family's provisions, sometimes in a shopping centre close to her place of work in Lund, more often in Kävlinge, and *to be honest* also quite often in Center Syd, a large shopping centre by the highway. They prefer not to go to the municipal centre of Landskrona for shopping, but it only happens once in a while *for a change*. When Carina has a possibility to go shopping on her own and spend some time in town, have a cup of coffee, buy some nice clothes and visit the library, she prefers to go to central Lund, *that's a 'spoil thing' for me*, she says.

Carina and her husband have not made a large number of new friends in the village since they moved in, and it does not seem as if they have been especially eager to do so. When asked what kind of people it is that live in the village, Carina says that there are some newcomers and academics like themselves, but also some old people who have been living there for a long time, and some younger, who are born there and have returned when it is time to marry and settle down. Her impression is that many families in the village consist of *men working with large machines and their women working within social services*. She ironically characterises herself and her husband as *asocial*, but it is obvious that they are not completely avoiding social interactions. Carina goes to gymnastics in the school every week. Her husband has been involved in the village association, and they have made acquaintances among the parents of their son's pals. Carina is careful to separate between professional life and her private situation, but she has experienced that people in the neighbourhood have expressed pride in knowing them since her husband was awarded a cultural prize by the municipality.

Carina does articulate an interest in the future of her village. She hopes that the village school will survive, despite the current threats that it might be closed down, and she discusses pros and cons of a future growth of the village. Better bus connections would be desirable, but Carina is ambiguous about the idea of new residential areas in the village. The prospect of *large villages of Älvsby and Myresjö houses*³ around here does not delight her.

³ Swedish prefabricated houses.

Such an expansion could of course improve the chances for school and buses, but it seems as if Carina believes that it would also threaten some rural qualities of the village. When talking about the area where she lives, Carina is also aware of existing prejudices about the countryside and people living there. She makes some ironic comments about this, for example when her husband puts on a record during the interview: *We play this kind of Hillbilly music out here in the countryside among all the people with twelve toes.*

Even though the most important thing for Carina and her husband was to get a house, i.e. a home, of their own, she does not tell much about the house itself. Today it seems as if the garden has turned into a project at least as important as the house. This started when they had to remove some old rubbish-heaps with objects they thought might be dangerous for their child, and when they had to do some draining around the house. After that, they wanted to make it all look nice and tidy, *and suddenly it turned interesting.* While Carina's husband is now the one who is mainly responsible for the structuring of the garden, with paths and stones and small fences, she is the one who takes care of the planting, weeding and also growing some vegetables. She has learned that garden projects can easily become very time-consuming, and her aim is now to organise the garden in a way that makes the maintenance as easy as possible.

Thirdness: A nest for the expansion of the family

Carina and her husband moved to the village from a one-room apartment in Malmö. There were many reasons for them to move: they needed more space as they were planning to have children, and they wanted a place of their own, where they would not be disturbed by neighbours. It seems as if the house they dreamed about should serve as an embracing frame around their future family. As no one of them had a steady employment at the time, they could not afford a house in Lund or Malmö, or in areas closer to the cities, where they would rather prefer to live. Hence they were looking for an affordable house in the countryside, expecting to find it in a nice and peaceful setting, but trying to avoid places that in their view were too peaceful. Carina clearly states that she did not want to live in a house surrounded by just fields, as the plains of Scania in her opinion are *so boring that they can make you faint.* A characteristic trait in Carina's account of her new home district is a clearly ambiguous attitude. This interview shows that personal relations to places in the countryside can be complex and full of contradictions.

The reason that Carina and her husband ended up looking for a house in this particular area, was that they both had got to know the surroundings through their work, and they had noticed that the house prices were fairly low, compared to neighbouring areas. They had no friends or relatives in the area, and their choice to settle in a village does not seem to be based on the possibilities for social interaction in such a setting. From Carina's answers in the interview, an impression is that they regard other people primarily as a source of disturbance. They were rather looking for quietness than for new social contacts. An affordable house in combination with a location not too

far away from work, friends and relatives where the determining factors, and, as Carina puts it: *somehow we reckoned this was a decent part of the country to land up in.*

The joy of owning a small garden was quite unexpected for Carina. The garden was not very important when they were looking for a house, but today she values the 750 square meters of garden as *something that can't be overestimated*. She says that it offers her good possibilities to be active and creative, and to experience a sense of presence. It is also of value as a place where her son can run around and play. Both Carina and her husband have put a lot of work into the garden, re-structuring and planting, and Carina says that *it is still a project*. One of her visions is to be able to just sit down in a comfortable chair in the garden, read a book or enjoy a cup of coffee, but so far the time spent in the garden has mostly been filled with working hours. A problem that Carina did not really foresee was the fact that her husband's allergy to pollen has reduced the family's possibilities to *spend the days and nights of summer outdoors*, which was part of her idea of life in the countryside.

Firstness: A dog hole with few qualities for children and lacks of restrictions for adults

Carina is grown up not very far from Gothenburg, next to a forest, where she as a child could walk around freely, and where she enjoyed the colours of the trees in autumn. In comparison, she finds the plains of Skania boring. During one period she felt quite uncomfortable, even depressed, by the fact that she had settled in a place that was boring and banal, a place that *gave too few experiences*. On the one hand, thus, there was not enough going on in her new surroundings, on the other hand there were noises and neighbours that could be disturbing. Forest, trees and tranquillity seem to be important values for Carina, and the quiet and forested surroundings where she grew up might be of importance both for her dislike of the plains and for her reluctant attitude towards too much contact with neighbours.

When it comes to the garden however, Carina was happy to discover that the sandy soils in the village made work much easier than what she had as a child experienced in her parents' garden, where the weeds seemed to be fixed to the ground. Now she enjoys working in the garden, and says that this work can get her into a sense of *flow*. The garden provides satisfaction, and so do some of her jogging tours in the surroundings. Carina makes some quite lyrical descriptions of what she experiences during jogging tours, for example in a chilly June evening *while the sun sets, and the long, long beams lick the pretty new crops that have begun to sprout, and it all has these odd neon colours that this landscape gets in May and June, just when there is blooming rape and the very green new crops*. It is obvious that the surrounding landscape is not just boring for her, but also, at least at some times of the year, something that she finds beautiful and inspiring.

Since Carina became a mother, her child seems to be of central importance to the way in which she experiences the place where she lives. Now she sees the village through the eyes of her son. In the light of her own childhood

memories from the forest, she worries about where to find places that are stimulating for the imagination for her son. When she brings him on a bicycle tour she feels that he is bored by the uniform landscape and that he is revived only when he happens to see for example a cow. Carina also ponder upon where her son can once learn to ride his own bike – on the village road there is too much traffic, so the school yard might be the only alternative.

It seems as if the son has become Carina's primary source of social contacts in the village. His day-care is provided by a neighbour, a woman who Carina depicts as honest, loving and full of initiative. She admires her ability to find activities for the children, as *there are not many places to go around here*. Carina says that her three-year-old knows more people in the village than she does. Walking with her son in the village, she has met teenage girls who obviously know her son, who calls out his name and lifts him into the air. Carina and her husband have started to consider that it is probably time to tell their son that he may well invite his playmates to visit him at home, and also to go to visit them in their homes. Their son has been participating in social activities in the village, for example in a Christmas ceremony for the day-cares and school children in the church. One might say that the son is an important social contact apparatus for the family. Carina has at times been doubtful if she will stand to stay in the village, or if she would prefer to leave, but she says that after all it is most probable that she stays. It seems that the bonds that her son is establishing to the environment and people of the village are a determining factor for her future plans.

In conclusion, Carina expresses a number of different feelings for the village where she has chosen to settle, and also many different opinions about its pros and cons in comparison to other areas. *If this had been more in the focus of the municipality they would have accomplished building a new recycling station, which we currently lack, for example. And they would probably have been concerned with the question that there can't be so many kennels everywhere, because there are, all around the village. A real dog hole, it is. But, she concludes herself: There are two sides of the coin. There is no-one in this village who goes around nagging about garden plots not being well kept or that you have painted your front door in the wrong color or something. It is not. So there is this freedom instead.*

	NATUR	LANDSKAB	KULTUR
POTENTIALITET	<p>Natur Bostedet</p> <p>Det er skönt att ha nåt [eget hus] som man rådda över själv å kunda göra vad man ville med... spela så hög musik man själv vill.</p> <p>Trädgården... är nästan oöverskattlig viktig.</p> <p>När jag får gå ute i trädgården å skrota, så kommer jag in i berömda flow,... tiden blit inte så viktig... resultatet knapt heller, utan man är så uppe i vad man gör så att det är man liksom ett med det va... man får va i fred... då löser man alla sitt livs problem, å tänker på allting. Å samtidigt så sysselsätter man sig med nånting som känns bra å kreativt å sunt.</p> <p>... det ser bara ut som om nån har släppt ner nåt hus och glömt av, var man tappade det nånstans... känns lite skräpigt sådar</p> <p>Trafiken .. väldigt jobbig .. hörs in i huset.. man blir störd i trädgården.</p> <p>Det smattrar maskiner omkring i byn... förpetsat ljud... klocken halv sju lördagsmorgon... "drrr" slår mellen husväggarna.</p> <p>Betlassen kör ju inte 50 genom byn, eller 30 vid skolan, utan dom brassar ju ner, för dom har sina beting och grejer.</p> <p>Naturkvaliteter</p> <p>Lugn og ro</p> <p>Farver</p> <p>Varme och ølighed, lys och mørke</p> <p>... Dalby... där finn ju det här med lite skogarna runt om... som bjuder ett mått av vad jag upplever som vanlig naturmiljø.</p>	<p>Habitat Bostedet</p> <p>Det er skönt att ha nåt [eget hus] som man rådda over själv å kunda göra vad man ville med... spela så hög musik man själv vill.</p> <p>Trädgården... är nästan oöverskattlig viktig.</p> <p>När jag får gå ute i trädgården å skrota, så kommer jag in i berömda flow,... tiden blit inte så viktig... resultatet knapt heller, utan man är så uppe i vad man gör så att det är man liksom ett med det va... man får va i fred... då löser man alla sitt livs problem, å tänker på allting. Å samtidigt så sysselsätter man sig med nånting som känns bra å kreativt å sunt.</p> <p>... det ser bara ut som om nån har släppt ner nåt hus och glömt av, var man tappade det nånstans... känns lite skräpigt sådar</p> <p>Trafiken .. väldigt jobbig .. hörs in i huset.. man blir störd i trädgården.</p> <p>Det smattrar maskiner omkring i byn... förpetsat ljud... klocken halv sju lördagsmorgon... "drrr" slår mellen husväggarna.</p> <p>Betlassen kör ju inte 50 genom byn, eller 30 vid skolan, utan dom brassar ju ner, för dom har sina beting och grejer.</p> <p>Landskabet</p> <p>... når man ser den här bruna "bonitet-tio-jorden" krypa upp genom snödrivorna, så ser det bara kladdigt å mörkt ut.</p> <p>Ån meandrar sig... Då går det såna kvigor där, spattiga kvigor som är jättegulliga och lita ulliga i pälsen fortfarande.... där är fiska... står killar å tjer i gröna kläder med flugspön... det ser sådär jätterart ut.</p> <p>Det kan va väldigt, väldigt vackert en junikväll om det fortfarande är lite kyligt i luften, det har inte arbetat upp den där riktiga kvällsvärmen ännu å man är ute å har en springrunda å solen får ner över nejden, å det är så långa,</p>	<p>Sans Bostedet</p> <p>... min gamla hembygd, består av lövträd, som er en kaskad av färg.</p> <p>... hade en hel gigantisk skog som man från var sju år gammal fick lov att gå vilse i.... der var den totala avskilthet [i fht. trafik og støj]</p> <p>... man behöver ju inte bo kvar här hela livet, men det är mycket möjligt man gör det.</p> <p>När man tvingats noppa ogräs åt sin mamma då, på ett skogstomt, där allting sitter fast som om nån har satt dit med häftpistol, du vet, en sån jävla, eländig... jordmån då. Å sen flyttar man hit,... Å sen är det, jordmånen är lite svår, men samtidigt lätt. Den är jättelätt att rensa, för det är sandjord. Men den är väldigt mager, så det växer inte så bra... Så mamma älskar å komma hit å rensa,</p> <p>Trädgården... er fortfarande ett projekt. Det ska planteras, å hålls... få undan skräphöga, utrota kirska... strukturera det hela... odla... sallad, morötter... Sen får vi ha en bättre gunga... Vi har hela garaget fullt med koskit nu, som ska ut.</p> <p>Landskabet</p> <p>... i somras... då tyckte jag att det var påstån att bo här. Då var det såhär att:" vi måste flytta. Jeg kan inte leva här"... det gav för lite... uoplevelser... Å slippa trafiken också.</p> <p>Den underbara skånska slätten... är ju så tråkig att man kan svimma... och nu bor jag ute på [den] själv, det är ju helt otroligt.</p>

	<p><i>långa strålar som slickar över den här ganska ny grödan som har borjat spira, å alting har den här konstiga neonfärgen... som det här landskapet får i maj-juni då när det är raps... å vallmon som står i åkrarna... jättevackert.</i></p> <p><i>... på sommaren är det [Saxåns dalgågn] så idylliskt så man kan skrika... sista augustiflämtet... gör det väldigt skimrande.</i></p> <p><i>[om vinteren i bil på vej hjem] då är det som att köra in i en svart sopsäck. Det är så otroligt mörkt. ... det är nåt svart hål... som suger åt sig allt ljus och all materia, det är värre än Mordor.</i></p> <p><i>En gnistrande vinterdag kan va väldigt varkert när landskapet är glaserat å sådär, men dom där är ju rasande fort över.</i></p> <p>Det sociale</p> <p><i>... vi känner förhållandevis få...</i></p> <p><i>Det är ingen som springer ner dörrarna.</i></p> <p><i>Vi har alltså inte alls nån sån, där går och åta middag... eller inte ens fikaumgänge ännu.</i></p> <p><i>... grannfrun är hans [sonens] dagmamma ... Oscar har ju såna äldre kamrater i byn som vi inte vet vilka dom ens är va, som kan komma störtande så ropa "Hej Osca", å så är det nån sån, tonårsslyngel på fjorton år som hissar upp honom i luften, å jag tänker: "Vem är du"?</i></p> <p><i>Åker å gympar ihop med två tjejer.</i></p> <p><i>... väldig många som har hundar. Å så ställer dom domi hundgård. Å så står hundarna å skäller frustrerat hela dagarnan... som icke hundägare kan det va lite frustrerande, om man hamnar i korselden mellan två Schnauzrar å en Pekineser... Det kan också pestivera en fridfull lördagseftermiddag i trädgården.</i></p> <p><i>Förra våren blev jag megatrött på nån usel bondrackare här ute, ... jag hade putsat fönster ett par dar tidligage. Å så var det en .. väldig torr vår. ..å så när de ger sig ut å harve, så stod det som stora bruna rökmoln.. Da var det så: "aaahhh". Så var fönsterna helt bruna å så tänker man "Men din jäkla bondrackare, kunde du inte hållit dig tills det regnar på tisdag?"</i></p>	<p>Det sociale</p> <p><i>Sitta ute å fika infiltreras av trafikljud. Så kan man jo inte ha det...</i></p> <p><i>Helgsmålringningen... är en källa till irritation.</i></p>
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FAKTI-CITET	Miljø	Området	<p>Erfaring Begrundelser for at flytte</p> <p><i>... vi bestämde oss ju väldigt pladask, för det här var huset, för att det motsvarade ungefär vad vi hade tänkt oss, och det var ett bra pris.</i></p> <p><i>... vi ville väldigt gärna köpa hus... Vi behövde nånstans större å bo överhuvudtaget, vi bodde i en etta i Malmö då. Det var ganska knökigt. Å då fanns familjbildningstankarna i bakhuvudet,... Å då kändes det inte som... att sätta sig i en större lägenhet... egentligen.</i></p> <p><i>För min del så... kändes det väl skönt att ha nåt som man rådde själv å kunde göra vad man ville med lite grann sådär...</i></p> <p><i>... "vi ska bo på landet för at där er det lugn, ordning å reda, å rent, å inte en massa trafik" [säger min man].</i></p> <p><i>Det var hit vi hade råd att flytta. Man vill ha ett hus, men man har inte råd med att skaffa ett, där man vill riktigt.</i></p> <p><i>... hade jag haft mer pengar... då hade jeg hellre bosatt mig, ja så krasst som i typ Bjärred... enbart för at ha havet nära... eller Dalby... för där finn ju det här med lite skogarna.</i></p> <p><i>Ja, jag tycker landet i den här delen av Skåne är ett ganska svårt kapitel. För... om man ska bo... på landet... då bor man på en gård mitt ute i en jävla åker [skrattar]... jag tyckte inte det var nått alternativ, för att, vad kan du göra där? Jo du kan gå runt dina hus, å sen är det en stor åker där dom kör omkring med stora maskiner, å gödslar å harvar å plöjer, å sår, å skördar, å bränner den kvarstående säden, å allt vad dom sysslar med. Så att, den biten pålandetboende är inte aktuell. Att bo i ett sånt litet enstaka hus vid en väg... nej, å så... då var det, det här med att bo på landet fast i en mindre by då, som kändes som det skånska alternativet då liksom.</i></p> <p><i>...det var en anständig landsända att hamna i... och inte så himla långt från oss [kontoret]. Det går snabbare at köra härifrån till kontoret än... från Malmö.</i></p> <p><i>Vi ville inte bosätta oss in i mittersta Skåne fell håll ifht. at besøge familie i Karlstad å Göteborg.</i></p>
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	<p>Naturtyper og -elementer Skogdugn... höga tallar blandat med slyskog, inte jättestor... ända en dunge</p> <p>Saxåns dalgång... en riktig sån däld, som är ganska gammal också.</p> <p>Åker</p> <p>Backar</p> <p>Grusväga</p> <p>Hunde</p> <p>Bär</p> <p>Kvigor</p> <p>Fisk</p> <p>Raps, valmuer</p> <p>Bronsåldershögar</p> <p>Gammal bro</p> <p>Sandjord fordi der har gått havsvikar in en gång i tiden.</p> <p>40-60 cm matjord i ett knalbrunt fin tlayer å sen kommer det illgult ren sand. ... är väldigt praktiskt för det er ju väldränerat.</p>	<p>Bostedet Husen [i landsbygden] är lite nedgångna, å lita trötta... har inte den här patinan som jag tycka är vacker.</p> <p>... det här er bara fortfarande en bygd som väntar.</p>	<p>Bostedet Vi har alltså fascinerats jättemycket, Emil och jag, när vi tänkt på vad det är för ställe vi har flyttat till. Vi, vi trodde ju att vi flyttade ut på landet, så som man tänkte landet hemma, ja kring Göteborg å kring Karlstad, när man flyttar ut på landsbygden så är det för att få lugn och ro. Det får man inte här.</p> <p>Det är jättelätt att rense [trädgården] för det är sandjord. Men den är väldigt mager, så det växer inte så bra.</p> <p>Jag tänker i framtiden: "Var ska Kalle lära sig cykla? Jaa, då får vi gå bort till skolgården då", du vet så där...</p>
	<p>Landskabet ... det är mycket ett produktionslandskap, med väldigt mycket människor, överallt. Det finns inte så mycket naturlig natur heller.</p> <p>... på sommaren... brukar jag ta Oscar på cykeln å cykla omkring, å då finns det också lite sådär rundor man kan ta utan att hamna i den värsta trafiken då, men problemet är... att dom rundorna är lite tråkiga utsiktsmässigt, för han tröttnar. Det är inte tillräckligt mycket olika saker att titta på. Det är ju bara åkrar. Så står det en ko, så blir han jätte glad så: [härmar:] "Mamma en ko!" får vi stå stilla en stund å titta på den då [skratt] Men annars så är det, det händer inget.</p> <p>Der finns ju ingenstans att plocka bär till exempel.</p> <p>Springer man in på en grusväg kan man ge sig katten på att den slutar på en bondgård, hvor der står en stor schäffer och skäller ut.</p> <p>Inte så gott om backar, så man kan åka pulka... så kan man sätta sig i bilen å köra bort till Västra Karaby, där dom har högre backar, å så kör man pulka ner för fornlämningar. Det får man ju inte! [skrattar]</p> <p>Landskronas bakficka... [i modsætning til] framfickan: Glumslöv å Rydebäck]... og Öresundsregionens... en bortglömd sockan.</p> <p>... en kile mellan... tjoka Helsingborg å tjocka... Landskrona som finns kvar av just ickeexistens ... oexploaterat.</p>	<p>Landskab ... man har et arkeologisk øga. Det är väl som med svampletare, har alltid øgonen öppna for mulighedeten av ett nytt kantarelställe.</p> <p>... jeg tycker har varit svår med det skånska landskapet ur naturhånseende. För var går man nånstans? När all mark är tagen i anspråk. Å då är ju vägarna kvar, å dom, man kan ju liksom inte bara gå på en väg hur långt som helst. Den måste ju gärna gå i en slinga, så man kommer tillbaka till utsprungspunkten eller nåt. Annars får man gå den vägen ett håll, å sen vända å gå tillbaka, å det är ju tråkigt. Men här kring Annelöv finns lite promenadmöjligheter i och kring byn och vi har den där lite större skogsdungen där nere, som ändå blir en lite... naturlig miljö av något slag. Ån, där man kan gå ner om man forcerar kossorna å sådär, på sommarn. En del mindre såna här markvägar som knyter ihop på ett vettigt sätt, så man kan sina gå promenader då.</p> <p>... når vi flytta hit, kanskje var vi lite naiva på vad man har for andre behov, trots allt omkring sig, som man inte tror man har, man kan alltid åka på utflykt och så, men man vill nog ha saker lite nærmare. Det tog mig två år att lokalisere en løprunda, som inte var oanständig lång, men som ånda var hyfsad.</p> <p>[Jag] tycker det är otroligt trevligt når det far omkring små traktorer å puttrar här ute å dom skördar å dom klipper, å dom pløjer, "dom harvar... får en känsla av att "ja, då var våren här"... Å andra siden kan jeg känna såhår att,</p>	

	<p>Indkøbs- og aktivitetsmuligheder Skolan [är] nedläggningshotad... går til gymnastik dér.</p> <p>I landsbyen er der kun et pizzeria tilbage og en dagis, [som är et] föräldrakooperativ</p> <p>Legeplads</p> <p>Tennisbaner</p> <p>Kävlinge : frisør, mödravårdcentral, bibliotek m. barnböcker, apotek, systembolag, læge, konsumaffär, blomsteraffärer, bokhandel, sporthandel.</p> <p>Center Syd i Lund: alle kedjorna med kläder, husgeråd, radio å tv, byggvaror, apotet, systembolag</p> <p>Landskrona</p> <p>Lund</p> <p>Helsingborg</p> <p>Helsingør</p>	<p>Det tar bara 17 minuter att köra in till Lund... tio eller tolv med tåget... inte så långt att åka ner till havet å bada... 7 minuter så är man ute på E6'an å då har ju man fullt blås upp til Göteborg eller... E4 till Stockholm å nära til större stationer... vi är ända med på banan.</p> <p>Sträckningar av höjdryggar i landskapet som ju beklås av bronsåldershögar... i siluett... då känner man såhär: "oj va länge, oj vad gammalt det här är".</p> <p>Der ligger en stor järnåldersboplats med långhus å brunnar å jordbrugsverksamhet... inte långt därifrån ett stort bronsåldersgravfält.</p> <p>Den gamla bron , vyn av den, är liksom skymd av den nya... som liagga en halv centimeter från den gamla.</p> <p>[Vindmøller]... dom bekymrar inte mig särskilt... Dom är där... Nu står dom ju en bit bort. Det är sån en del av landskapsbilden också.</p> <p>Indkøbs- og aktivitetsmuligheder ... ibland så handlar jag direkt i anslutning till jobbet...</p> <p>Ibland åker vi till Helsingborg å aldels nyligen har vi för första gången varit i Helsingør.</p> <p>Jag vet inte, var man skulle köpa ägg eller en nackad tupp, eller ett halvt lamm eller nåt heller... på nått vis känns det inte som det försiggår så mycket sånt här ute.</p> <p>Ja, alltså det här är ingenting som ger den här positiva skenet du vet, av att här är det AKTIFitet... Jo, det finns en sak, å det vet jag, det är ju faktiskt ett litet rosväxthus här. Dom säljer bara rosor, på rot då... Å dom lär vara väldigt välsorterade å bra., men jag har aldrig köpt några rosor av dom, för jag är inte så förtjust i rosor.</p> <p>... jag tycker det är rätt så skönt att ibland åka in till Lund, sådär ifall man helt enkelt, ja det är också en annan miljö, å för mig är fortfarande Lund det mysiga.</p>	<p>herregud, Landskronatrakten är ju känd för sån fruktansvärd miljöpåverkan av just jordbruks... Hur er det med vattnet omkring här? Å så vidare... det kan lukta skit, svämpgödsel, det kan ryka nåt fantastisk</p> <p>Å hösten blir ingen stor sak heller för hösten är ju väldigt mycket trädens tid, med färgerna. Men det er inte så mycket träd här omkring.</p> <p>Indkøbs- og aktivitetsmuligheder [handlar] först å främst på AG:s i Lund då, för det ligger precis bredvid jobbet... om det enda man behöver ha hem är mjölk, så kilar jag på lunchen å fixar det. Annars handlar man i Kävlinge, å då är det relaterat i till just det här att åka till och från jobbet. Vi anlitar nog oftare Kävlinge än Landskrona, i praktiska... saker... [och] kommer oftare i Kävlinge end i Landskrona för variationens skyld.</p> <p>Det vi åker till Landskrona för, det är möjligen för att kanske variera oss nån gång, bara för att åka nån annan stans, vi handlar väldigt lite i Landskrona.</p> <p>Oscar å jag åkar til badhuset i Landskrona.</p> <p>Bulkverksamheten i Kävlinge och på Center Syd... för at alternera, för at skämma bort sig, för att man behöver nåt speciellt, som man inte kan få tag på.</p> <p>... At tage til Lund er et litet "skämma bort"... lämna de här två männen hemma... og gå på stan,... på biblioteket för å läsa tidskrifter å bläddra i romaner,... å dricka en dyr ficka nånstans och köpa en tröja som inte är en kjeda</p> <p>København – besøges sjældent og aldrig sammen med manden, fordi de har for forskellige interesser. Hun: for at gå på museer, åta god mat, titta på stan</p>
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	<p>Det sociale</p> <p><i>Luciafirandet og Vår marknad</i></p> <p>Transport</p> <p><i>Lokalkommunikationerne [busforbindelser] är småtaskiga.</i></p> <p><i>Der er en badbuss till utomhusbadet i Härslöv av alla jävla ställan, inte till havet... inte til Marieholm håller for där är busliv på badet, men i Härslöv är det ordning och reda..det är ju helt abstrakt.</i></p>		<p><i>... delvis så får ju jag erkänna att... jag kan nog känna en längtan tillbaka till stan... å vad skönt det hade vatt, om man kunde komma iväg till apoteket smidigare,[skrattar] å om man kunde sätta Kalle på cykeln å cykla till biblioteket. Å, ja du vet sånt, förenkla saker. Men då hör det ju till sakernas tillstånd att... vi hade ju inte knappast kunnat bo i ett hus, utan vi hade lägenhet å då hade det varit andra saker, ja då ska man passa tvättstugor och... cyklarna blir snodda hela tiden, man har bilinbrott, å det är källarinbrott.</i></p> <p>Det sociale</p> <p><i>Ingen här i byn som går å hackar på, att det är dåligt rensatt i trädgårdslanden, eller att man har målat fel färg på ytterdörren... där är ju friheten istället... man kan sköta sig sålv också... Både frihet å samtidig ..lite bortglömt. Hillbilly.</i></p> <p><i>Ja alltså, vi är så himla nördiga, så vi umgås ju hemskt mycket med kollegor, å dom bor i Lund å Malmö då.</i></p> <p><i>[Landmænd är] karlar som kör stora maskiner, grävmaskiner, dumpers, å dereas kvinnor som jobbar i vården.</i></p> <p><i>[Andre indbyggere är] folk som vill bilda familj och har nån anknytning i forvejen plus fattiga alademiker som os själv.</i></p> <p><i>Hon [sonens dagmamma] är en sån rejäl människa, asså kärleksfull, gott humör, orkar med dom här ungarna, hittar på saker med dom. Drar dom fram å tillbaka i byn här, å jag fattar inte hur mycket hon kan promenera, för man tycker ju inte att det är så mycket att gå omkring, men hon är ute jämt.</i></p> <p>Kommunen</p> <p><i>[Har raget et spøgelseshus ned og opsat vejporte for at dæmpe trafik hastigheden. Og anlagt en P-plads ved kirken til skolens personale.]</i></p>
VANE	<p>”Lov”</p> <p><i>... både Emil och jag är ganska stora tidsegoister så där, vi, när vi är hemma vill vi ha... lugn å ro för det mesta, utom när man bjuder in vänner ...</i></p> <p><i>Alla [här] är lika asociala som vi.</i></p>	<p>Symbol</p> <p>Bostedet</p> <p><i>... nu med Kalle har det varit liksom att ha en nånting, en naturlig utgångspunkt, stänga grinden, å så får han knata omkring naken eller i badbraller, å ha en liten swimmingpool på sommaren och sådär. För min del är det gärna... at bara få sitta i en skön stol å hänga, å läsa i</i></p>	<p>Argument</p> <p>Bostedet</p> <p><i>... mer trädgård inser jag att jag inte har tid med... Så jag inskränker mig til lite såhär husbehovsodling, sallad å ... moprötter i år, det är Oscars idé.</i></p> <p><i>Köper vi et annat hus nån gång, så kommer vi nog va</i></p>

	<p><i>Det är inte trafiken, som gör at folk vill bo där [på landet], utan att det är lugn å ro. Det, er det, folk vill flytta ut till.</i></p> <p><i>... man har jo hund när man bor på landet. Som sällskap, å vakt å kanske till jakten.</i></p> <p><i>[i en lejlighed i byen] da ska man passa tvättstugor och cyklarna blir snodda hela tiden, man har bilinbrot och källarinbrott.</i></p>	<p><i>trädgården... men det hinner vi inte så mycket.</i></p> <p><i>...[jag] har en vision om, att en vacker dag har man tid att bara sitta i trädgården... bara vara, dricka saft, kaffe... på vårkanten. Det ingår i planen... å sen är det lite å odla också ...</i></p> <p><i>Sitta ute å fika infiltreras av trafikljud. Så kan man ju inte ha det. Nej, det ska va sådär idylliskt, å fåglarna kvittrar, på sommarn...</i></p>	<p><i>väldigt observanta på var det ligger... i relation till såna här saker [trafik, støj]</i></p> <p>Landskab</p> <p><i>... dom [vindmøllerne] representerer god energi på nåt vis, å det ger dem en positiv klang... jag ser ju hellre hundra vinkratverk än att jeg ser ett stort jævla kolkraftverk eller Barsebäck.</i></p> <p><i>... alting [byggeri i landsby] behövdes ikke föregås av en oändlig massa planering</i></p> <p>Transport</p> <p><i>Jag kan känna, å vad skönt det hade vatt, om man kunde komma iväg till apoteket smidigare... sätta Kalle på cyklen å cykla till biblioteket... men så hade vi knappast inte kunnat bo i et hus.</i></p>
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Figure 9: Condensation in the diagram of the Meaning of Landscape of the interview with ambiguous newcomer Carina

Ole: Fifth generation farmer and politician

Ole is a farmer in the fifth generation. He owns 55 ha land and leases 20 ha. He has changed his production to organic milk and has 55 cows. He has a farmhand and his father also work on the farm. Ole is 44 years old, married and has three children 14, 16 and 18 years old respectively. His wife is a social worker employed by the municipality. He has a lot of social relations in the area and is a member of the city board.

Secondness: A social, functional and administrative network still with autonomy

Ole is educated as a farmer and has been taught all the basic elements of a rational production: such as removal of all hedgerows, the filling up of ponds and the like. He is, as he expresses it *brought up with chemicals* and has learned how to make plans for spraying the crops. Now he has changed his mode of production to be organic especially to protect the groundwater and has stopped spraying. This he considers the major turning point in his life. Further, he says, *I wouldn't like having cows if they couldn't graze outside*. Even though economy is important for his survival as a farmer he doesn't subscribe to growth above everything as many traditional farmers. He has witnessed too many mishaps of other farmers to join the race and find other aspects of life, such as his kids' development, more important than to expand the farm. As he remembers agriculture when he was a kid he wonders why the old farmers ridicule his change of mode of production. What he finds the overall benefit of the organic production is *that then 75 ha are not being sprayed*. On the other hand he admits that cows are probably better off in conventional productions than in his as he does not treat them for minor diseases.

Being a politician the municipality is important to his experience of the area in which he lives. He therefore finds it annoying when people keep up the distinctions between the parishes that were erased by an administrative restructuring back in the 1970'ies. What he refers to first, when speaking of the area, is the county, and when the family needs to go to a city to buy things they chose– Roskilde over Holbæk and Frederikssund – that lies within a similar distance - because it is the center city of the county. Moreover the public transportation to Roskilde is better than to the other cities and the older kids go to school there. Nevertheless, his wife prefers to buy clothes in Holbæk because the service is best there. Personally he is strongly attached to the village from where his farm was move out at the beginning of the 20th century. There his kids went to primary school, there are shops, library, nursery home for older citizens, church and buss lines. But Ole also feels related to two other villages – the one where his wife was born and the one where his children has been employed at the grocery shop. He also includes Copenhagen in the area they use for private purposes. They go there a couple of times a year to visit museums, go shopping and go to the movies. But in there he find everything *condensed, cars and houses .. there is no air around them*. He neither could imagine living in a suburb where he had to take the neighbors into consideration. In contrast, he experiences they have a lot of autonomy where they live.

Another aspect of Ole's political engagement is his perspective on newcomers. As he does not subscribe to growth as such he does not want that the *entire increase of the Danish population takes place in Bramsnæs* turning it into a provincial or city-like area. He also worries how the newcomers can be integrated. Some of them seem interested in joining organizations mostly to improve their personal interest while others *live in their own closed world and are satisfied with the nature in which they live* none of them caring about the community.

In sum, the representational space of Ole's is to a great extent determined by social and functional relations and includes the villages within 0,5 to 5 km's. From a professional political point of view his area comprises the municipality as well as the county and the networks of services related to these administrative levels.

Thirdness Pastoral idylls without buildings

Ole's political engagement he refers back to all the support his parents offered him while growing up and which he tries to pass some off on to his own children. It is his philosophy that everyone capable has to *contribute something in order to maintain a decent society*. He also claims that *The ones who really needs help should have it*. On the other hand he finds it important that *society does not produce passive people. ... Everything cannot be bought. We also have to create something*. From his point of view the physical environment plays an important role in the shaping of minds. He prefers places with a *soul* as people living in such places *develops other attitudes than the ones living in those square concrete buildings*.

To Ole it is important that his farm presents itself at its best. He appreciates the style in which it was built. He has not changed a lot of the buildings for production but is trying to restore the main building to what it was like before his parents modernized it. He has replaced the windows by old ones; he has put in wooden floors and old-fashioned stucco ceilings and plans to tear a wall down in order to restore the entrance hall. Furthermore he has planted bushes around the buildings, put up a grain silo and an electrical device. The location of both annoys him but when it comes to the silo he has many arguments. It is located where it is primarily for environmental reasons. Storing the grain in it has the consequence that he does not have to dry it. He admits that it is huge but it is because he has chosen a type that can be moved if he decides to build a new cow stable. In general he finds technical installations such as windmills and masts for cell-phones harmful to the view of the landscape. But then again, if they are environmentally pleasing such arguments overrules his aesthetic disgust. *Windmills in my head are a question of environmental energy*, he says whereas he identifies the masts with what he terms a *culture of dependence*. *We should be able to take care of ourselves. A cell-phone mustn't become a comforter*. It is therefore not surprising that what comes into his mind as examples of pleasing landscapes are two hilly areas with beautiful vistas of the fjord where *you don't see a single building. All you see is forests and fields and the fjord*. In that sense his preferences can be compared to those of the English romantic garden style in which it was found important to hide any

trace of maintenance and to create vistas reminding the spectator of history and the shortness of life.

Firstness: The fields

Even though Ole put a lot of emphasis in restoring his house it is the fields he is attached to. To sit on the stairs after a long working day *contemplating the field touches me much more than earlier*, he says. Likewise, when he speaks of hunting he explains that he stopped because he never shot anything because he spent his time looking at the fields. He also states: *We live on the field but still close to the village*. Being a farmer in the fifth generation makes him part and parcel of his place of living to the extent that he cannot – to his satisfaction - imagine living anywhere else. Likewise he wonders if people that move a lot do not lack relations to space. To him it was self-evident that he was to take over the farm from his father who never put a pressure on him to do so. This is important to him as he claims that *you have to wish to be a farmer as if not, it becomes a burden*. Despite the relation to tradition he does not consider himself an *ordinary* farmer because he does not subscribe to growth. Like others, he considers economy an important aspect of life but he finds the living conditions of his family more vital than the development of the farm. Unlike most traditional farmers he takes days out of the calendar to do things with his wife and to go skiing with his children a week each winter. This year they have even planned a three weeks holiday in the US. And when he is gone he does not want to be disturbed with problems about the production. He tells them at home: *No matter what happens, you don't call me! I don't want to hear anything about it*. And not until on his way back he starts thinking: *Ok, we are going home now*. Besides, it is out of his mind. After a vacation he is prepared to start a fresh. *Then you feel almost doped or on your toes*. The opportunity to leave the farm occasionally he explains as an effect of his parent's constant support. He feels that their help has given him a surplus of energy he has used to make things better for others – his family as well as the community. The grandparents have also been there for the kids when they were young. Freedom is in general important to Ole also when it comes to planning his work. To be a farmer is to live without a key. You constantly have to make decisions as about when to sow, spray and so on but through that *you learn the cruel realities of life ... that things do not just fall from heaven*. That he is more of a landscape manager than an a traditional farmer can also be deduced from the fact that he does not mind that the authorities pays him control visits when he receives a lot of subsidies. This is further underlined by the fact that he has considered making public access in a tiny river valley on his farm and that he jogs a couple of times a week.

	NATUR	LANDSKAB	KULTUR
POTENTIALITET	<p>Natur <i>Du står foran valg hele tiden... det er netop det dér med naturen, at ligesom kende til de dér vurderinger.</i></p> <p>Bostedet <i>Der er jo en stor mark derude af, en stor fri mark, dér kunne man måske godt lave lidt beplantning. Det kunne der måske godt være, måske. Altså, byen vil så også ændre sig. Der bliver måske udstykket længere mod Karlby. Det vil jo også give nogle ændringer.</i></p>	<p>Habitat</p> <p>Bostedet <i>... den [gården] ligger herude på marken, og er bygget, synes jeg, i en flot stil. den [kan] godt holde til at ligge for sig selv.</i> <i>Vi har kun bygget maskinhuset til og revet svinehuset ned. Ellers står den [gården] ligesom han [farfaderen] byggede den i 1913.</i> <i>... man kan så sige, gården vil så ikke ustråle dét, som den gør i dag, hvis byen kommer her ud... så er der nok lidt tradition og historie i, at... jeg er ikke interesseret i, at det bliver storbyagtigt eller provinsagtigt.</i> <i>Ah, det [område han identificerer sig med] breder sig måske nok kun, ligesom inden for mit eget måske kan man sige.</i> <i>... for nogle år siden, der tænkte jeg ikke så meget på det, men tit når jeg kommer ind om aftenen, så sætter jeg mig på bryggerstrappen ude bagved. Så kigger jeg bare ud over marken, og det rør mig meget mere, end det måske gjorde tyve år tilbage.</i> <i>Der er mange fluer om sommeren, altså i hele området hér. Det er jo ikke kun nede i stalden. De er simpelthen over det hele... Der er et par måneder om sommeren, der kan vi ikke sidde ude i haven og spise. Så bliver vi ædt af fluer. Sidst i juli og august, der kan vi ikke sidde der ude.</i></p> <p>Landskabet <i>Så kan jeg jo lægge mærke til: "Nå hvordan står det forskellige?". Majs og forskelligt. Så kan jeg ligesom følge dét, når jeg løber forbi [naboernes marker].</i> <i>... hvad lægger jeg ellers mærke til? Det er ikke så meget vildtet...</i></p>	<p>Sans</p> <p>Bostedet <i>Altså, vi er placeret hér, men det er jo ikke noget, vi selv har bestemt på sin vis. Det er noget, vi er født til.</i> <i>... det er lidt den dér tradition... altså jeg er 5. generation på gården. Det betyder også meget... Men omvendt... jeg ville da ikke være død eller noget ved at skulle have valgt anderledes. Det tror jeg da ikke, for jeg plejer at være god til at sætte mig ind i den situation, jeg kommer i... jeg har simpelthen været fri for at skulle tage stilling.</i> <i>... hvis der en dag ikke er nogen, der vil tage over,... Så tager jeg et valg,... Men det er selvfølgelig svært,...</i> <i>Når vi har været i Sydfrankrig... så starter jeg på en frisk. Så er man ligesom lidt dopet eller lidt oppe på lakridserne... det har jeg det fint med, lige at koble af... Dér har min far måske nok haft det lidt sværere, tror jeg, ... Måske, at det ligesom har været lidt for bundet.</i> <i>Vi kan jo ikke rigtigt... forestille os, hvis vi skulle bo i et parcelhuskvarter, hvor man var nødt til, at skulle tage hensyn til naboer og sådan noget. Selvfølgelig, dét ville vi gøre. Men vi har jo nogle friheder hér,...</i> <i>... nu har jeg lige bestilt et hegn, dér skal plantes her til foråret.</i></p>

		<p>... havde man boet nede i byen, så havde det jo været på en anden måde,... Så var det måske andre områder, man havde fokuseret lidt mere på, hvor at nu, så har man det lige uden for døren, og så har vi i hvert tilfælde lært, at sætte pris på det [landskabet].</p> <p>det er da et flot sted. Vi har fjordene omkring os. Vi lægger bare ikke mærke til dem...</p> <p>Vi har jo meget natur. Det må vi indrømme. Det er bare, når man bor herude, så lægger man ikke rigtigt mærke til det.</p>	<p>Det sociale</p> <p>... jeg er bange for, at forbrugerne, ikke [er] villige til at ofre de flere penge for det, når de har valget. Så det [økologien] bliver en nicheproduktion.</p>
FAKTI-CITET	Miljø	Området	<p>Erfaring</p> <p>Grunde til at bo der</p> <p>... der var da lige en overgang, da jeg gik på landbrugsskole, at jeg ligesom spekulerede lidt i at blive politibetjent... Dengang var der en kvote. Vi kunne ikke få flere køer ... Men så blev det til, at jeg kørte 3 år i foderstoffet. Og så fik vi så kvote, og så byggede vi så.</p> <p>Ja, jamen jeg er jo en del af gården hér. Min far, min farfar, min oldefar og tipoldefar, altså!... Og så min kone også, hun er også sådan halvindfødt her i området... hun kommer fra nabobyen... Vi kunne slet ikke forestille os at bo andre steder.</p> <p>[At være landmand] det har jeg aldrig fortrudt. Det... lå... ligesom også lidt i kortene. Mine søskende ville ikke overtage det... Min far har aldrig presset mig... Det vil jeg heller ikke gøre med mine børn. Slet ikke. Du skal have lysten, ellers bliver det for surt.</p> <p>... hvis der en dag ikke er nogen, der vil tage over,... Jeg tror da ikke, at jeg vil gå og knokle hér til jeg er 80 år... Så tager jeg et valg,... Men det er selvfølgelig svært, altså, det bliver da noget med traditionen og noget forskelligt.</p>

	<p>Bostedet [Gården er bygget i 1913 af Oles farfar ved udflytning fra Kirke Hyllinge. Tilligendet var da 15 ha. I 1985 købte han jord fra naboen, så den nu er 55 ha. Siden 1995 har han tilforpagtet 20 ha for at kunne dyrke foder til 55 økologiske rødbrøgede malkekøer.]</p>	<p>Bostedet ... vi ligger hér, 500 meter fra byen. Vi bor ude på marken, men vi bor alligevel meget tæt på byen... børnene... De har kunnet tage cyklen, og bare lige cykle derned [til skolen i Kirke Hyllinge]. Og især også nu, med at de går i skole i Roskilde. Så cykler de ned til bussen, og kan tage bussen. Det er da dejligt på den måde, at vi ikke skal ligge og køre med dem og sådan noget.</p> <p>F.eks. dét hus hér, da jeg var 15 år, der rev vi vinduerne ud og satte én stor rude i. Og herinde satte vi nye døre i. Finérdøre og noget. Nu da vi flyttede herop, så har vi over et par gange fået sat de gamle vinduer i. Og de gamle døre i igen. Vi har fået lavet trægulve og lofterne oppe i stuen har fået stuk. For at føre det tilbage til det gamle igen.</p> <p>... det er ti år gammelt køkkenet ... vi ville godt have haft, at det skulle ligne et landkøkken lidt mere,... men det var ikke lige fremme dengang... Jeg har selv lavet det hele.</p> <p>Ja, jeg har plantet rundt om gården én gang Men så desværre, så fik jeg det jo plantet for tæt på. Så nu bliver noget af det hevet op, og så planter jeg et nyt hegn. Og vi har også fået plantet en gammel grusgrav til, og mosen og sådan noget.</p>	<p>Bostedet ... det er da dejligt, at komme ind og se sådan noget [museer og biografer i København]. Men det er [også] dejligt at komme hjem igen. Dét er simpelt hen den dér, at det er trykket sammen, ikke også - biler og huse - og at der ikke er noget luft omkring. Men dér er det da også helt anderledes for os hér, end hvis vi boede nede i parcelhuskvarteret nede i byen.</p> <p>For eksempel, min mor og far lavede værelse i hallen. Der var fuldt hul op, da vi var børn og det værelse, det har vi besluttet, det skal fjernes, fordi hallen skal tilbage igen... til, som det var.</p> <p>[Vi har planer om at rive udestuen ned, og anlægge en terrasse], fordi det var sådan en, den var bygget med, gården...</p> <p>... jeg har prøvet på, at bibeholde den hér gård, nogenlunde i den stil, den har været. At det så lige irriterer mig, at jeg var nødt til, at bygge den dér silo derude... fordi den passer ikke helt ind,... Men så vil jeg så plante, så jeg ligesom synes, at den ligesom kommer til, at passe lidt bedre ind.</p> <p>Økonomisk har vi da nogle fordele, som måske ikke lige er på papiret. Bare at tænke sig, hvad sådan en bolig hér ville koste,... Det var der [ingen] almindelige mennesker, der ville have råd til at bo i, hvis den lå i byen.</p> <p>... Hvis du ellers kan få det til at fungere, det dér med at arbejde i weekenden og sådan noget, så får man jo ligesom lavet en dagligdag.</p> <p>Selvom jeg gik de dér 8 timer på arbejde, så synes jeg ikke, at jeg havde mere energi end nu, hvor jeg arbejder noget mere. For det er jo ligesom, at skulle få hverdagen til at gå, altså. Jeg har jo meget frihed nu på sin vis. Hvis du går på arbejde, så er det en helt anden rytme du kører i.</p> <p>Det har jeg altid sagt: "Jeg vil aldrig køre det ud</p>
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			<p>til den bitre ende"... for det har jeg set for mange eksempler på, hvor det gik helt galt. ... Derfor har økonomien også været ret vigtig for mig, for så havde jeg det bedst. Og dér har jeg så været heldig, kan man sige, at det har gået. Jeg skulle have haft,... et ret godt job, hvis vi skulle have gjort, hvad vi har gjort.</p> <p>Jeg gider ikke lave så meget om de næste par år. Nu vil jeg nyde livet lidt, men om syv år skal jeg tage stilling til, om jeg vil bygge en ny stald. [Vil sønnen ikke overtage gården, så]sidder jeg i det på den måde, at jeg kan jo bare lade være. Jeg vil ikke gøre det for enhver pris.</p> <p>... havde jeg været almindelig, så havde jeg også bygget en ny stald, fordi vækst er vækst! Men dér holder jeg altså meget igen...</p> <p>Jeg plejer at sige, at jeg hører til den generation, der er født op med kemikalier. Jamen, da jeg var helt lille, der sprøjtede vi ikke roerne. Der lugede min mor dem. Men så var det jo, da jeg blev lidt ældre og kom på landbrugsskole, der lærte jeg jo sprøjtestrategier, plansprøjtning og det dér... Så jeg skulle jo lige slå 180 grader, og: "Var det nu også det rigtige?". Men jeg har været glad for det [omlægningen til en økologisk driftsform] lige siden,... Det var da også den største beslutning jeg har taget i mit liv, at tage beslutningen, om at gøre det.</p> <p>Men for mig, så er det vigtigste, at når jeg er økolog, så er der 75 hektarer, der ikke bliver sprøjtet. Det er altafgørende for mig, og dét bevirker... at det hjælper på grundvandet... Hvordan dyrene har det, det er ikke lige så [vigtigt], for der er steder i konventionelle stalde, hvor dyrene næsten har det bedre end mine...</p> <p>... jeg [er] blevet lidt mere kynisk ... det dér med at bruge penicillin og alt det dér, det gør jeg ikke... det er den risiko jeg tager... De fleste yverbetændelser, de kurerer sig selv... Hvor førhen, der ringede jeg bare til dyrlægen hvis der var et</p>
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	<p>Landskabet Ejby, Dejligheden, Lyndby, Risø, Bognæs, Sjølsø, Bramsnæs, Kattinge, Ejby å, ...</p> <p>Indkøbs- og aktivitetsmuligheder [Bramsnæs kommune har ikke noget indkøbscenter, fordi man ikke har accepteret Kirke Hyllinge som centerby, så nu er] Skibby er rendt med sejren. Kirke Hyllinge: købmand, Fakta, hal, plejehjem, bibliotek, industriområde og busforbindelser og dér har børnene gået i de laveste skoleklasser. Skibby og Valsø har indkøbscentre og Skibby har også</p>	<p>Landskabet <i>Jo altså, vi bor på landet, men i byen alligevel. ' Næsten alle køerne er økologiske hér i Bramsnæs. Det synes jeg da er flot.</i> <i>Nu, Bramsnæs, har vi jo altid kigget på, men det andet kig [ude ved Lyndby], det er sådan et jeg har fået øje på her de sidste år. Det ligger specielt. Vi kan stå og kigge... ud over, og så kan du ikke se én bygning sådan set. Altså, det er flot....</i> <i>Jeg har altid syntes, at den dér slugt, der går hele vejen ud igennem - der har jo gået en å hele vejen der ud af i gamle dage - det er jo sådant specielt, hele vejen ud igennem Ørbækrenden der ud af. Den går jo hele vejen ud til fjorden. Det er da et flot område synes jeg.</i> <i>Nu har jeg lavet sådan et Spor i Landskabet, som går ned forbi byen.</i> <i>... der er jo stadig lidt af den dér sognegrænse... i folkemunde...</i> <i>... Kirke Hyllinge, det er lokalområdet, men jeg er meget bevidst om, ikke at trække det for voldsomt frem, for så kommer balladen. Men nu bor jeg jo hér, og så må jeg også ligesom være i lokalområdet... snakker vi politisk og sådan, jamen så er kommunen en helhed, og det skal vi prøve at få til at glide.</i></p> <p>Indkøbs- og aktivitetsmuligheder <i>Vi [Kirke Hyllinge] er stadig en by med lidt landsbypræg.</i> <i>... vi ligger jo tæt på København... f.eks. vores børn, de tager jo til København, og det gør min kone også.... Min kone og jeg tager på et par ture et par gange om året, hvor vi bare selv går rundt... Kigger lidt på museer og forskellige ting... og det er da</i></p>	<p><i>eller andet... der har man ændret sig lidt,...</i> <i>... det [fluene] har vi lært at leve med, og efter vi er blevet økologiske, kan vi jo ikke gøre noget ved dem, altså, sprøjte.</i></p> <p>Landskabet <i>Da jeg var ung da skulle det hele - ja, det sgu fandeme ryddes. Det var i vejen. I dag går man med til at ofre et par meter langs gærdet eller noget. Det... gjorde man ikke for 20 år siden, ...</i></p> <p>Indkøbs- og aktivitetsmuligheder <i>Sæby er måske nok kommet lidt tættere på, end det har været. Vores børn arbejdede hos købmanden.</i> <i>Kølløse er jo naturlig ved, at min kone kommer der nede fra, så det er området omkring Kirke Hyllinge.</i></p>
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	<p>apotek. [Dér kører de tit op,] <i>for dér kan man altså få ret meget... hverdagsting.</i></p> <p>Familien har lige langt, dvs. 20 km til henholdsvis: Roskilde, Holbæk og Frederikssund.</p> <p>Roskilde har skole for ældre børn, politi, hospital og tøjbutikker og bedst busbetjening, derfor kommer de mest dér.</p> <p>Holbæk har indkøbsmulighederne for tøj og <i>servicen er bedre</i> end i Roskilde, lidt mere <i>nede på jorden</i>; men busforbindelserne ikke særligt gode. Især konen, der tager derhen.</p> <p>Frederikssund i Frederiksborg amt kommer de sjældent til.</p> <p>Især konen og børnene tager også til København på tøjindkøb og biografbesøg.</p> <p>Det sociale</p> <p>Ole er kommunalbestyrelsesmedlem og sidder i kredsrådet for økologiske landmænd.</p> <p>Han er med til at arrangere 6 halballer om året.</p>	<p><i>dejligt, at komme ind og se sådan noget.</i></p> <p><i>Vi kommer jo derind en del gange om året... Vi tager det som meget naturligt. Det er jo ikke noget specielt, [at tage] til København!... den ligger meget tæt ved, og skal vi ind og handle eller noget! Skal vi i biografen!... Vi mener jo, vi hører til i det område, og mange arbejder derinde herude fra, rigtig mange.</i></p> <p>Det sociale</p> <p><i>Vores børn har kunnet komme hjem fra skole, og jeg har gået her... Og de har kunnet gøre hvad de ville. De har lært tingene, hvordan naturen er, og de barske realiteter med, at man må slagte dyr. Jeg mener, det er meget sundt at lære det. De har lært det der med, at var det nu en god høst eller en dårlig høst. At tingene ikke bare lige kommer væltende ind... De har ikke været i institution. De har fået lov at komme i klubber, men det har bare været for fornøjelsens skyld,... Det har ikke været et must eller noget. Og én gevinst til, er at de har haft deres bedsteforældre ved siden af. Det mener jeg har været enormt givende, at de har snakket med dem, hørt historier, og så har de nok også nogen gange snakket om ting, som vi ikke har fået at vide, og det er helt fint...</i></p> <p><i>Nu er min kone sygehjælper, og arbejder hver 2. weekend. Så tager vi jo bare en dag midt i ugen, når hun har fri, så piller vi den ud og kører. Og det kan vi jo gøre ligesom det passer os. Når jeg så er færdig i stalden og noget, så kører vi. Og er det galt, så kan jeg få karlen til at afløse om aftenen. Det er jo også en frihed.</i></p> <p><i>... vi har da måttet afgive jord til forskelligt,... en</i></p>	<p>Det sociale</p> <p><i>Og selvom de [børnene] ikke har været i institution eller noget, så tror jeg ikke, at der er mange børn, der er mere sociale, end de er. De har meget respekt for andre og sådan noget. Det mener jeg virkelig er guld værd for dem, og det mener jeg nok, er dér, vi har fået allermest ud af, at vi har levet hér. Men det er jo et fåtal, der kan gøre det. Det er et privilegium når man kan.</i></p> <p><i>Nu er jeg så så heldig, at have min far. Han går jo laver meget, så derfor har jeg jo også en frihed på den måde.</i></p> <p><i>... vi har været heldige, at mine forældre har været friske og har hjulpet os. ... Og så [må man] bruge den energi nogle andre steder. Ja, gøre det godt for andre.</i></p> <p><i>... selvfølgelig er der også nogle omkostninger [ved at være landmand]. Jeg har aldrig sovet længe efter nytårmorgen eller sådan noget, men er så privilegeret, for jeg har da en ung mand,... der kommer for mig engang imellem ... Vi kommer da på skiferie og sommerferie, og vi skal til USA i 3 uger til sommer, så selvfølgelig</i></p>
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		<p>hundetræningsbane, som bare har lejet jorden, og har fået lov at bygge et hus. Det kunne jeg da også bare have nægtet, men nå ja: "Den dér hundetræningsbane, den skulle jo også have et område at ligge på".</p> <p>Og jeg har det altid med, til... skolemøder ..., dér provokerer jeg næsten nogle gange ved at sætte mig hen til [tilflytterne]... for ligesom at få de nye lidt med ind i det.</p>	<p>har jeg det nemmere end nogen.</p> <p>... altså mange af min fars generation, de ... peger fingeren nedad af det dér med økologi, og det undrer mig meget på én måde, for de har alle prøvet det dér med økologi, da de var unge. Og det er jo fordi, at de har sammenlignet det med, at det var de dér provoer, der startede økologien op... så skulle man være imod... Der er stadig nogle, der griner af det... Men jeg tror også, at der er mange, der har fået respekt for det, når de har set de forskellige steder, hvordan det kører.</p> <p>Der er nogle, der siger, at vi får for meget tilskud og sådan noget. Men vi får jo ikke mere i tilskud end de andre, men det mener folk. Inde for mejeriet kan der også være nogle af de konventionelle, der siger. "Det er os der betaler til jer", men det gør de så heller ikke.</p> <p>Jeg er godt nok jæger, men jeg har aldrig skudt noget. Eller jeg går ikke på jagt, fordi, jeg har ikke den dér med at skyde... Jeg gik gerne og kiggede på marken, når jeg gik ud på jagt. Jeg fik ikke skudt noget... Så det holdt jeg op med. Og så har jeg også en lille smule negativ holdning til... jagt.</p> <p>Altså, jeg har det heldigvis sådan, at når jeg tager af sted, så får de besked på, at sådan set lige meget hvad der sker, så ringer I altså ikke. Jeg gider ikke høre en disse om det, og det er først på turen hjem, at jeg begynder, at tænke på: "Nå, nu skal jeg hjem". Ellers så er det væk.</p> <p>... så har jeg også ... fået en ressource fra mine forældre, ved at kan sige, at de altid har hjulpet. Og derfor har jeg også tilladt mig, altid at være villig til, at gå ind i skolearbejde. Ja, jeg kan ligefrem ikke lade være.</p> <p>Og jeg har det altid med, til... skolemøder ..., dér provokerer jeg næsten nogle gange ved at sætte mig hen til [tilflytterne]... Jeg har den holdning, at jeg behøves sgu ikke snakke med</p>
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		<p>Planlægning og politik <i>Det er da en falliterklæring, hvis vi [kommunen] ikke kan fungere med 9000 mennesker... Så er der sgu da et eller andet galt.</i></p>	<p><i>dem, der bor her. Dem skal jeg nok få snakket med ved andre lejligheder, men for ligesom at få de nye lidt med ind i det...</i></p> <p><i>... vi [de andre/tilflytterne/samfundet i forbindelse med vindmøller] er blevet meget... gode til... at hvis vi ligesom har købt noget specielt, så vil vi ikke finde os i noget som helst, larm eller lugt eller noget.</i></p> <p><i>... jeg har altså ikke de der sogneskel i hovedet, og jeg bliver irriteret over, når folk trækker dem frem, for vi er én kommune, og dér må vi prøve at arbejde sammen... jeg synes, at det er irriterende, når den skal komme frem, den dér hele tiden med, at: "Så får den ene", og: "Så får den anden".</i></p> <p>Planlægning og politik <i>Inden for 7 eller 8 år er der blevet bygget 30 hektarer med parcelhuse og andre boliger, og det synes jeg, at det er [gået] lige lovligt stærkt. Vi har jo det problem, at vi er en sommerhuskommune, og der er jo sket det, med de nye regler... at der er mange folk, der flytter fra sommerhusene, og så skal de jo have et andet sted at bo, og hvis de skal bo i kommunen, så er vi selvfølgelig nødt til at udvide.</i></p> <p><i>... hvis Kirke Hyllinge bliver slettet af landkortet... det er jo storpolitik.</i></p> <p><i>... hvis byen kommer her ud... det bliver bestemt fra HUR.</i></p> <p><i>Nu er der lige blevet sat 2 store vindmøller op. ... Kommunen gik ikke imod, at de kom op. Det er jo ikke os, der bestemmer. Det er HUR, der har udlagt området til vindmøller.</i></p> <p>Transport <i>Jeg tænker tit på... sådan nogle, der arbejder inde i byen, den tid de skal bruge hver dag ude på landevejen, for at komme på arbejde... De er væk i 10 timer eller noget. Mindst. Om jeg</i></p>
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			arbejder i 10 timer, det giver da det samme.
VANE	<p>"Lov" Jeg er som jeg er, så mig kan der ikke laves om på. De må tage mig, som jeg er. Det tror jeg også, at jeg bliver respekteret som.</p> <p>Du skal have lysten, [til at være landmand] ellers bliver det for surt...</p> <p>... jeg spekulerer altså længe over det, når jeg laver noget, men så får jeg alligevel lavet nogle dumrianer en gang imellem [placeringen af el-kassen].</p> <p>Bostedet og bedriften</p> <p>Der må godt være lidt sjæl i det [byggeriet]... fordi ... der komme ... nogle mennesker ud med lidt andre holdninger, hvis man har noget pænt, at gå om</p> <p>Vi kræser ligesom... om tingene, og det er meget vigtigt for os.</p> <p>Huse... der har lidt historie og stil, dem er man villige til at betale lidt mere for i dag... der er også mange, som er villige til ...[at] restaurerer dem.</p> <p>Jeg mener selv, at jeg har været meget miljøbevidst. Det er også derfor, jeg lagde om til økologi. Men jeg er ikke fanatiker. Det er jeg ikke. Slet ikke. Men jeg mener, at jeg er realist.</p> <p>Men der er jo dem dér, som ligesom tænker på vækst hele tiden, og det er jeg ikke... Det var jeg måske for 20 år siden, da det bare skulle gå der ud af, men der er altså mange andre ting i livet. Børnene og alt med deres skolegang og også familie i helhed. De er vigtigere. Det er måske vigtigere for mig, at kunne tage en tur på vinterferie, end have en stor stald med robotter og noget. Vækst vil jeg ikke for enhver ting, og så har jeg også den personlige holdning, at jeg mener, at det er sådan, at jeg kan klare mig fint med det, jeg har... lad være med at bygge [en stald] til 130, hvis du ikke har det godt med det. Hvis det bare er fordi, at andre har gjort det, og fordi tingene siger, at du skal</p>	<p>Symbol</p> <p>Bosted og bedriften</p> <p>... Men vi synes bare, de har ikke været tosset, dem der har tegnet det [huset]. Der har været en mening med, hvorfor tingene blev lavet... dér blev ikke kun tænkt på pengene, som der gør i dag. Der blev også tænkt på, at det skulle se ordentligt ud, og det kan vi være glade for i dag, at der var nogen, der gjorde...</p>	<p>Argument</p> <p>Kun at tænke på dét [materialisme], det er ikke nok. Der skal også være lidt mere for at give lidt mere indhold i livet. Og det er dét, der har været lidt galt med, ... vi har sejret af helvedes til, for vi har fået velfærd, men velfærd i sig selv er ikke nok.</p> <p>Bostedet og bedriften</p> <p>... den dér el-kasse, der står ude ved min indkørsel ved siden af stenen, det irriterer mig da.... At den skal stå dér! Men da var jeg ikke hurtig nok, for den kunne have været flyttet ned til huset. Dér havde den ikke irriteret lige så meget. Men det irriterer mig sgu da, at jeg fik den sat dér. I værste fald kunne jeg betale mig fra, at den kom ind til længen her.</p> <p>... havde vi været parcelhusejere og gået på arbejde, jamen så havde vi da aldrig haft de midler til at kunne gøre det, fordi så ville huset jo have haft en helt anden værdi... så ville det jo ikke have været til at betale.</p> <p>Jeg mener, at det [at plante] er et tilskud til landskabet. Altså, jeg tror ikke, at det har en værdi salgsmæssigt. Det er ikke det, man tænker på. Nej, jeg har prøvet på, at bibeholde den hér gård, nogenlunde i den stil, den har været... Men det er hele tiden en balancegang også med økonomien. Problemet er jo hvis vi konkurrerer med nogen, der er fuldstændigt ligeglade med, hvordan det ser ud, så er det sværere for os at opretholde den standard.</p> <p>[placeringen af] min silo... det var sådan et kompromis,... den gør at jeg ikke selv skal tørre kornet, og kornet holder sig. Så det er helt</p>

	<p><i>gøre det. Lad være med det. Gør dét, du har det godt med. Det er enormt vigtigt, og det lærer man i hvert tilfælde, når man bliver lidt ældre, at det er mindst ligeså vigtigt.</i></p> <p><i>...[om] nogle hører man, at de er flyttet flere gange. Så tænker jeg... de må være noget mere splittede i deres følelser, til dét dér med, et sted at bo.</i></p> <p><i>... så er de [dyrene] på græs. Det er et must for mig. Jeg skal ikke have køer, hvis de ikke kan komme på græs.</i></p> <p><i>Du får ikke mig ud og sprøjte, det bliver over... [mit lig]. Jeg har ligesom fået sådan en afstandstagen til det. Men jeg har ikke noget imod at naboen gør det. Det er hans valg. Men jeg vil bare ikke.</i></p> <p><i>... hvis jeg ser et stort ressourceforbrug eller et eller andet vildt, så bliver jeg næsten dårlig af det. [om biler]</i></p> <p>Det sociale</p> <p><i>Jeg har været min egen herre... skulle der lige laves et par timers arbejde nede i skolen midt på dagen, ja, så får jeg det til at passe. Sådan nogle ting, havde jeg slet ikke kunnet undvære - at ligesom være med... at være aktiv.</i></p>	<p>Landskabet</p> <p><i>Den [radiomasten] kunne have været flyttet ud i industriområdet, så den ikke var kommet lige så voldsomt op og stå på kirkebakken som en majestæt.</i></p> <p><i>... Vi kan godt udvide lidt. Der skal altid være lidt udvikling, men jeg mener ikke, at befolkningstilvæksten i Danmark, den skal ligge her i Bramsnæs kommune, alt sammen...</i></p> <p><i>For mig ser vindmøllerne ikke grimme ud, fordi inde i mit hoved, dér har den allerede sagt: "Jamen, dér er noget miljøenergi",...</i></p> <p><i>Det flotteste, det er at komme ude ved Ejby, og så kigge ud over Dejligheden... Den er også speciel, det er den. Der er mange billeder ind over... Der er også et område ude ved Lyndby, når man kigger ud over, lidt ud mod Risø, og kigger ud over Bognæs. Dér har man et kig, hvor du ikke ser en eneste bygning. Hvor det kun er skov og marker, du ser, og fjorden... og så hele området ude ved Bognæs og Hattinge, det er jo også flot.</i></p> <p>Det sociale</p> <p><i>... den store radiomast oppe på kirkebakken... det er hele den kultur dér, afhængighedskultur. Jeg mener, at vi skal kunne stå alene uden den.</i></p> <p><i>... de [naboerne i byen] er lidt sure over, at jeg har stillet den silo op, for det pyntede ikke... Men det må</i></p>	<p><i>miljørigtigt, siger man. Og så er det fordi, at jeg godt kunne have bygget én, der var lidt anderledes, som ikke var så voldsom. Men nu er det strategien med, at den hér kan flyttes, hvis jeg nu skulle bygge en ny stald.</i></p> <p><i>... hvis der en dag ikke er nogen, der vil tage over,... så bliver det bare som et hobbylandbrug altså, hvis én af ungerne overtager det på den måde. Det kommer selvfølgelig an på, om jeg går hen og bygger stor stald. Men det gør jeg heller ikke undtagen at vide, om én af dem vil overtage det. Så det hænger sammen.</i></p> <p>Landskabet</p> <p><i>Det er nogle naboer, der lige er flyttet herud og har købt en gård, og de vil under ingen omstændigheder have de vindmøller. Og jeg har sagt, jamen de vindmøller, de skal i hvert tilfælde heller ikke genere med støj. Men dér har jeg så, man kan sige, lidt med mit kulturlandskab, dér går jeg lidt på kompromis, for jeg vil nok sige, vi skal have nogle vindmøller for at have noget miljøenergi... derfor var jeg også varm fortalende for dem... dér er man sgu nødt til, simpelthen at have hår på brystet nogle gange, og lade det prelle af, ellers så sker der intet.</i></p> <p><i>... jeg kan godt forstå, at hvis én kommer nede fra Ringsted af, og kommer her op og ser vandet og noget, så er det jo helt anderledes.</i></p> <p>Det sociale</p> <p><i>... der kommer forskellige krav, og der kommer nogle ud og skal kigge, og det har jeg det godt nok med. Jeg har det også godt nok med, at de kommer fra plantedirektoratet og kigger og sådan noget, fordi... så længe vi hæver en check på 100 000 eller sådan noget fra det</i></p>
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	<p><i>Jeg ville ikke have det godt med, ikke at involvere mig...</i></p> <p><i>... det har jeg også fortalt til børnene, at det er vigtigt, at de der nu har det godt, de er nødt til ligesom at yde noget, for der er nogle, som ikke har det godt. Det er ikke kommunen, der kan klare det hele. Hver især er nødt til at yde noget, og også personligt, for at få det her samfund til stadig at være et godt samfund.</i></p> <p><i>De [børnene] har meget respekt for andre og sådan noget. Det mener jeg virkelig er guld værd for dem.</i></p> <p><i>... vi har været heldige, at mine forældre har været friske og har hjulpet os... Og så [må man] bruge dén energi nogle andre steder. Ja, gøre det godt for andre... Det er i hvert tilfælde ikke den dér krævementalitet. Den vil jeg aldrig kunne tage.</i></p> <p><i>Samfundet kan også skabe passive mennesker, og det skal vi passe på, at vi ikke får lavet. Det skal være sådan en kombination. Dem der virkelig har krav på hjælp, de skal så også have det.</i></p> <p><i>Det skal ikke bare være det dér, billige byggeri altid. Der må godt være lidt sjæl i det også... fordi ..., der komme ... nogle mennesker ud med lidt andre holdninger, hvis man har noget pænt, at gå om.... Det er bare bevis på, at vi ikke kan købe os til alt. Vi er også nødt til at skabe noget.</i></p> <p><i>... og det dér sammenhold, der er dér, [om halfester i idrætsforeningen] det giver virkelig.</i></p> <p><i>... folkeskolen [den skal] helst kunne rumme alle sammen, for ellers synes jeg, at det er en falliterklæring... der går man ind i et fællesskab,...</i></p> <p><i>... når du lægger afgifter på kemikalier, så får du lavet den splid i landbruget, fordi så siger den ene, at den betaler for den anden. Det er noget lort.</i></p> <p><i>Jeg har altid sagt: "Hvis vi går ind og ændrer nogle ting radikalt for folk, jamen så er vi nødt til at give en erstatning".</i></p> <p><i>Der kommer også noget Jantelov nogle gange: "Det er Hovedstadsområdet, der får alle pengene"... Det er</i></p>	<p><i>jeg jo give dem ret i. Men omvendt er der nogen, der siger, at der skal være sådan en silo til enhver gård, for at det er en gård.</i></p>	<p><i>offentlige, så er de sgu også nødt til, at skal have noget, at skulle have sagt. Så det har jeg det ikke sådan set dårligt med.</i></p> <p><i>... mange af dem, der bor på Strandvejen, de bor der kun, og så er de altså ikke aktive på nogen måder i lokalområdet... De har nok i den natur, de bor i.</i></p> <p><i>Nu tænker mange bare kynisk på skattekroner, men der er også nogle negative ting med at udvide, hvis lokalsamfundet ikke rigtigt får rodfæste, så kan du få mange negative ting.</i></p> <p><i>... tingene fungerer jo godt nok i lokalområdet... også selvom der kommer flere mennesker, men bare sådan noget som idrætsforeningen... Det kan komme til at knibe, at den kan opsuge alle folk.</i></p> <p><i>... de folk, der flytter herud... kommer ligesom med krav om, at så skal der også være de ting! Så nogle gange, så tænker man på: "Hvad krav skal vi, der altid har boet her, hvad skal vi stille?". De kommer... med krav om, at sådan skal det være: små skoler, og sådan og sådan... de kommer godt nok med nogle skattekroner måske, men det kan også være for negativt, hvis der kommer for mange, som ikke er faldet til,...</i></p> <p><i>... der er da mange af de dér tilflyttere... som er interesseret i at komme ind i noget... nogle gange lugter det også en lille smule af egoisme. Så er det "min lille Peter," det drejer sig om. "Jeg kunne have valgt en anden skole", og sådan noget. Hvor jeg har et helt andet syn ... for mig, der er folkeskolen, det er folkeskolen... dér må man bøje lidt af, hvor jeg nogle gange oplever, at der er... måske kommet ligesom en lidt hård holdning til, ligesom at ville dikterer tingene.</i></p> <p><i>Nu har jeg jo det problem, at jeg har bindestald. Køerne er jo møgbeskidte, ikke også!... for vi må ikke bruge strøm over køerne, fordi vi er økologer, og jeg strøer og gør ved... lige for tiden, [er] ensilagen så stærk, så de er lidt tynde</i></p>
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	<p>bare et bevis på, at et land ikke behøver være ret stort, før der godt kan være nogle ret store geografiske forskelle.</p> <p>... jeg har sådan set den holdning til det, at hvis der er noget der forurener, så skal man ikke kunne betale sig fra det. Så skal det sådan set forbydes.</p> <p>Der skal næsten hele tiden være lidt forureningsskandaler hele tiden for at holde dampen oppe... det er jo ikke fordi, at de dér 4 eller 5 procent økologer har lavet så meget fysisk... men holdningsmæssigt har de lavet meget mere. Det er alfa omega,... og det er også noget med,... at vi har fået bevaret madkulturen lidt... i forhold til alt det dér Fast Food. Det skulle nødig blive som ovre i USA, hvor der er huse, hvor der ikke er køkner i. Det eneste der er, det er en mikroovn.</p>		<p>i maven, og så sviner det. Der er jeg da bevidst om, at hvis jeg skal have nogen på besøg, så sørger jeg da for, at få striglet dem. For eksempel kalvene derude, hvis det har været pisse regnvejr, så har de gået i en plørebute. Det er jeg da heller ikke særligt glad for, bare sådan lige, at vise frem... Men hvis jeg er nødt til... det, så prøver jeg også ligesom at forklare, hvorfor...! Og så kan de jo godt forstå det mange gange.</p> <p>... det dér med, at slæbe folk lige med ind i en stald, og sætte kamera på, det er ikke retfærdigt, fordi der får man et forkert billede... Man er nødt til ligesom lige, at... have et indblik i en arbejdsgang ... før... man kan tage en rigtig holdning. Det er det samme, hvis vi blev sluppet ind og så en operation af et menneske.... En stor motorsav og noget! Vi ville nok også blive helt forskrækket... Hvor at hvis man ligesom har gået lidt i det og fået at vide, hvorfor man gør sådan og sådan, så hjælper det altså meget på det.</p> <p>Øllingegaard har jo gjort det... solgt mælk til en krone mere literen på grund af livsstil og et image... Det er de stærke, vi får til at vælge, og det er dem, der har rå,... De dér børnefamilier, der virkelig skal have de 4 liter om dagen, de går efter prisen, det er jeg bange for.</p> <p>Planlægning og politik</p> <p>Det, der kan være det farlige, er... hvis Kirke Hyllinge bliver slettet af landkortet... Hvis ikke den har en vis aktivitet, så kan de gå hen og nedvurderer den, også med busser fra hovedstadsområdet... Så derfor er vi nødt til at holde en vis standard. Nu får vi så et plejehjem i Kirke Hyllinge. Så det giver jo i hvert tilfælde nogle arbejdspladser, og så på den måde, så er det jo også på landkortet.</p>
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			Transport <i>Storebæltsbroen har vel nok trukket landet lidt tættere sammen ...[den] skulle være gratis... det er et politisk skel man har lavet... Det gør altså noget erhvervsmæssigt, hvis vi skal have varer ... Der mærker vi virkelig transporten.</i>
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Figure 10: Condensation in the diagram of the Meaning of Landscape of the interview with the fifth generation farmer Ole

Anders: An entrepreneur and immigrant to the farmers' community

Anders is a middle-aged male agricultural entrepreneur who runs a large farm close to a village. He lives on the farm together with his wife and four children, aged 9 to 15. Anders succeeded his father-in-law when he bought this estate in the early 1990s. Anders is a socially active person, engaged in the farmers union, the local riding club and other associations. He is a modern and economically rational farmer, and is in that sense quite typical for south-western Skania, where most fulltime farmers today run large estates and specialise in cultivation of cereals and other crops. In another sense he is, however, not so typical. Most farmers have grown up on the farm where they live and work, or within the same region, but Anders is an "immigrant" from Småland.

Secondness: An agricultural business in a rural community

Buying the farm was a large investment, and Anders bought it at a time when agriculture was not considered to be a business with future possibilities. It was not easy to convince the bank to get a loan, and the loan was given at high interest. In the beginning it was hard to make both ends meet, but after a while *we joined the EU, and suddenly there was surplus money ... It was just as if one had gotten wings, one could develop in a different way as soon as we entered the EU.* Today he is confident about the near future of the farm, he is hoping that the revision of the EU agro-economic support system will be beneficial for his business, but he is assured that he could cope even without any such support: *I would manage anyway. I make an analysis every year, I check it out. So I would cope by cutting down on my expenses, my consumption. I do allow myself quite a lot today, for example to renovate and such things that I couldn't afford before.*

Anders regards his village being part of the Sound region, and finds it well located. *We live in a central location in Skania. Yes, I am considering that it is close to the cities and close to Denmark, and that might give you a feeling of being in the centre of everything.* And at the same time it is a periphery: *The municipality is not delighted about doing anything here, because we are in the periphery ... It's very seldom that we get any help from the municipality; they usually claim that we can handle it best yourselves. And actually we do.* Since a few years the train connections in the area has been improved, and Anders lives within a few kilometres from the new railway station. *It is very good, now I can just go down to the local train station and take the train to Malmö. And you can take the bridge, for example, when you are going over. ...And at the same time I feel that I have the privilege to be able to draw away from all that here as well. ...it is a real mercy to live here. I mean, it is the country, it is nice and calm, and it is secure somehow. And yet it takes no more than ten minutes, and you are in the hectic life. That's the way I like it.*

The two youngest of Anders' children go to the school that is situated in the village, and the other two go to secondary school in a nearby village. Having the primary school within walking distance from the farm is clearly an advantage. On the other hand, there is no grocery store in the village, so

for shopping Anders and his family usually goes either to Kävlinge, 5 km away, or to the large shopping centre by the highway, Center Syd, a couple of km away. *But if you go to Center Syd you need time. First you have to find a parking space, and then you must have time to talk to all the people, because half the village is there shopping.* Sometimes they also go to an even larger shopping centre north of Helsingborg, known for their low prices. *We are six in the family, so we have to. And if you have these storage spaces – we do have both a food cellar and an underground storehouse – so we can fill up the car.* Anders says that he has been annoying some of his farm colleagues by telling them that he does some of his shopping at the German low price store Lidl. For him, that is a political act, a way to influence the trade: *In my opinion, the villain for us is these shopping palaces, it is these Lidl and Maxi, it is them who take the money. They take from the consumers and they take from us, they take from both sides. Then, my opinion is that you should make them fight one another instead. And you can do that by buying specific products in specific shops. I think so, I don't know, but what else could you do?*

Anders compares his life in the village not only to his experiences from Småland, but also to life in the cities: *Here, you can not hide in your own shell. You are part of everybody, of everyone's life, and that's why you can't do like they do in the city, go into your own apartment and have relations only in other parts of the city. There you are anonymous, with all its negative consequences. Here, you are at least part of something.* Life in the countryside implies a sense of security paired with a local control, but Anders is careful to point out that *it is not like in the old rural community however, as a lot of people seem to believe. We are part of modern society. A lot of people one have met in cities believe that it is a bit like that, they have an image of how it is in the countryside.* Anders says that he was surprised when he recently read a report about the ongoing migration from rural to urban areas: *It is huge! And my experience is that new people come from the cities out into the countryside all the time. But it is not, it is not those people. Apparently it is the ones that can afford it who come to live in the countryside.*

In the area where Anders lives there are a lot of people who own horses. Many of these live in former farms and smallholdings, others in newly constructed ranches: *They build these palaces with stables. They are called horse farms, and I think there are ready-made designs for them. They all look the same; it's just the colours that differ. It is quite interesting, and they do cost a number of millions.* For the land-owners, horse riding is a frequent source of conflict. The riders cross over the fallow fields, creating deep tracks. Some farmers refuse the riders to pass on their roads and fields. Being active in the riding club, Anders has tried to teach the young riders about their rights and responsibilities when using private land [Allemansrätten]: *And sometimes I lose my temper, but they know who I am, so when they see my car they usually go to the edge of the field.*

Thirdness: A project managers Heaven

As a child, Anders was living with his family at a forest estate in Småland. His father in his turn was born and raised at an estate in Blekinge. Even though there have been farmers before him in the family, Anders states that most of his ancestors have been manufacturers and industrial managers. When he grew up he wanted to be a gardener, partly because of an interest in botany. In the “gymnasium” he studied social sciences and languages, and he also went to Scotland to take a course in English literature. He tried different jobs, for example as a salesman, selling paintings over the telephone. Finally he got an education in agriculture, including a higher education – “lantmästare” – and was expected to take over the family farm in Blekinge. In the early 1980s however, his future wife organised a position for him as a student on her father’s farm in Skania. Anders liked the girl and the place, and ten years later he ended up buying the farm.

The farm is a former officers residence (“militieboställe”), founded through a fusion of a number of smaller estates in the late 19th century. Anders points out that this estate was supposed to be a model for other farmers in the area. When he took over the farm it was however not in a perfect condition. *I have remade everything here*, he says, laughing. *When I came here there were seven tractors. I have two. Of those seven there was maybe one working when you needed it. And here were three employees on a permanent basis and two extra. Father-in-law himself only took part during the peaks, as he was ‘the farmer’. It was a different way of thinking.* Anders proudly presents a number of improvements that has been accomplished since he took over the farm, in the buildings, the machinery, and the routines. The latest project was the erection of two wind power stations, *and that has turned out very, very positive for the farm.*

With a property of 155 hectares of almost exclusively arable fields, and another 60 hectares on tenancy, the farm produces considerable amounts of crops. Like most estates in this part of Skania¹ today, this is a specialised arable farm. Cereals, rape and sugar-beets are the most important crops. The impressive stables that were once built for a large stock of dairy cattle are now used only for a few horses belonging to Anders’ wife and daughters. Even though his wife owns half the farm and is grown up at the property, Anders throughout the interview talks about the farm as *my property*. When he sometimes talks about things that *we* have done at the farm, it usually seems to refer to projects conducted by him and his employee. For the daily work on the farm, Anders has one fulltime employee whose main responsibility is the machine-work, while he himself is most interested in the cultivation and also takes care of the paper-work. Besides the agricultural business he still has his interest in gardening, and spends a lot of time in the large garden where he tells proudly that he has, among other things, planted a lot of trees, 300 beeches and a future arboretum. He refers to the garden as the park: *They call it park in Scania, where they have trees.*

Since Anders took over the farm he has also renovated the main building, bit by bit: *I take on one project every winter, indoors. So that they get a chance to see me in there as well*, he says. He found it difficult at first to get

acquainted with the way houses were built in Scania. From Småland he was used to timber houses, and here he had to learn to work with different materials and building techniques. *The buildings are good, or they have become good. It was a bit shabby when we came here, but now it is set in order. --- I took measures myself, and now I have it the way I want it.* When renovating the house he is concerned about the historic connections: *I am renovating the dining room at the moment, and I have ordered a fabric, the original fabric for the chairs. And it was still there, the design for it, so there is an old lady who will loom a web. Yes, that's really nice.*

Being a farmer in this part of Scania is just like being in Paradise, according to Anders. The soils are good and the climate is beneficial, and this makes cultivation easy. *You hardly ever fail. Even if you do stupid things it seems to grow anyway. And with my background in Småland I know what I am talking about. I often say that living is easy here.* When Anders speaks about his current everyday life and neighbourhood he relates almost everything to his experiences from Småland. The possibility to sit on the tractor and harrow the large fields for a whole day, and not have to stop every few meters to get rid of stones in the harrow, is an experience that he gladly remembers from his first years in Scania: *I thought I was in Heaven.*

He misses the forest however, and the way he used to go hunting in Småland. On his current property there is a lot of game: hares, roe deer and pheasants, but: *I have finished hunting here, I didn't like it. --- I like hunting the way that you sit for a whole day waiting for the hare to show up. Here, when we went hunting, we saw 60-70 hares in a day. And then, you know, there are a lot of scanians in a circle, and a group of hares that everybody is shooting at, and to me that was no fun.* Instead it happens that he sell the hunt, or invites friends to go hunting on his property.

When talking about social relations in the neighbourhood it is obvious that Anders regards himself as a newcomer, and considers it a great advantage to have experiences from elsewhere to compare with. He observes the behaviour and traditions in the neighbourhood, and he feels free to take part only when he likes to, and participate for example in birthday celebrations and funerals only for those he care about, not by duty. He is aware that it is unusual for farmers to move, and he was surprised by the positive way in which he was welcomed by neighbouring farmers. He was soon involved in society activities, and was elected into the landowners' community (byalag/åldermansgille): *They elected me two years in succession, so that was very nice. It was not nice [laughter], it was really hard to get it all together, the economy and everything, and I didn't know anything. But it did turn out all right. We had... they have always been, it's really nice people, so...* He noticed that people were very curious about the new owner of the estate, as it is the largest property in the village, and Anders also heard rumours that said that he might not survive for long as a farmer. However, through these contacts he learned a lot about the way agriculture is pursued in the area.

Anders seems to have a 'social competence' that makes it possible for him to be accepted in many different social contexts. He is an active member of

the farmers' association and has also been involved for example in the riding club and the village society, and he also seems to be eager to make good informal contacts with people in the neighbourhood: *I go walking a lot, everywhere. It's a good way to... well, communicate with people, there is always someone around. I have always found it important to make it possible to be seen. It is good, because then you are not some damn old man, then I am Anders... And then you are spared from all the talking behind the back.* When Anders is presenting himself it seems as if not only his work on the farm, but his entire life is a project. He seems to be planning and managing not only his business in a professional manner. He takes courses at the agricultural university, and he is eager to keep updated with the latest news concerning for example agricultural policy. He is well-spoken, and his extensive answers during the interview give the impression of a conscious and independent man. Many of his answers express opinions quite typical for a modern large scale farmer in Scania, but on other questions he presents more unexpected stances.

Firstness: Emotionally implanted in his space

Being a farmer does not seem to be a very popular job these days and Anders have often heard colleagues complaining about the difficulty to get the younger generation interested in taking over their farms. In his opinion the future for agriculture in the area seems promising for those who are willing to venture. But there are few newcomers in the business: *I hardly know anyone who has bought a farm, so I think that among my friends I am the only one who has purchased my land...It is very important for them down here that it should go to the next generation, and they should have it practically for free, so that the manger should be full when they take over.* Anders finds it hard to understand this attitude, which in his opinion is typical to Scanian farmers. He prefers to regard the occupation as a farmer as a personal choice. He does not expect his children to take over the farm after him: *I don't think that is important. What is important is that they, that the individual does what it wants.* He is however concerned about the future of his farm: *I find it most important that the property can work well even after me ... that the production goes on. --- It is almost like a person. I don't go around talking to the houses, but after a while when you have been struggling like I have done and like everybody probably does ... then you get feelings for everything: 'I made this in 98', you get a history in every part, and by the time that gets stronger.*

It is obvious that Anders has a strong emotional connection to his property. A few years ago there were discussions in the village about the need to decrease the dangers of heavy traffic on the main road. A suggestion was to build a new road around the village, on land belonging to Anders' estate. He was a strong opponent to the plan, and did not like the idea of a road across his fields: *I like the land up there. I have been taking care of that land. Should it be covered by asphalt then? That's simply what I thought. I got very rudimentary in my thinking.*

During the growth season, from early spring till harvest time and autumn, Anders spends a lot of time in the fields: *There is a lot to do; you have to*

inspect, check for deceases and weeds... It is what you live on, and so you are always worried about it, always walking around, looking. Despite all the work and worries in the fields in summertime, Anders says that he is never fed up with plants and cultivation, and he is happy to have his garden to take care of when work in the fields is finished: *There is regret when threshing and harvesting is over, it is almost a bit sad.* He knows every corner of the property and would like to have names for all the fields, as they used to have in Småland. In Scania every piece of land has a number rather than a name: *I guess that is because the field boundaries are movable here, more so than our fields were up there, where they were surrounded by stone walls, they were where they were.*

Despite all the comparisons that Anders makes with Småland, he seems to be very happy with the landscape where he is now settled. *I think, generally, that it is very beautiful here, in this area. It is undulating and there are trees and the burial-mounds on top of the heights... So, it is a beautiful surrounding.* The only thing in the village that he does not like, from an aesthetical point of view, are a number of single houses built in the 1970s: *...sometimes I wish that they could be erased, to have it like it used to be.* Anders is interested in history, he proudly displays some Stone Age axes that he has found in his fields and also tells that he has gathered historical information both about his family and ancestors and about the history of his estate. *You have to know your origin, in order to understand your own time.* From old photographs he has even learned about the continuity of the local flora: *I have photos of the farm from the 1930s, taken from the road, and there are flowers on the verge, and I have exactly the same flowers today. And that is something that I use to tell those ecologists, that I have certainly not destroyed anything [laughter].*

Although being a specialist in cultivation, Anders declares that he is happy that he is not living in the most fertile and flat parts of the Scanian plains, as *there is too much of the human hand, there is no escape, so to speak.* On his property he has a small river valley, which he finds very beautiful: *I can go down there and sit for a day. There you can't hear anything, except nature. And I have never touched it, I have never used fertilizer or anything there, I have never cut it, there has just been animals grazing there.* Anders gets economic support for keeping the pastures of the river valley open by letting the horses graze there, but he has been arguing with the representatives of the regional authorities about how the area should be looked after. He has been asked to clear away trees and bushes, but he is not willing to do that: *I think that it is most important that it remains... untouched by the human hand, I think that is better. It is interesting to see how... well, the ecology and the fauna...* A quite contrary attitude towards nature is shown in another part of the interview, when Anders is talking about his wind power stations and the fact that a lot of people do not like the sight of wind power towers in rural landscapes: *A lot of people have a problem with this, they want virgin nature. But there is no such thing as virgin nature. Nature is man-made, especially down here.*

Anders is happy to live where he lives, and he is not very eager to go travelling: *I know that a lot of people think that you should travel, but is that*

really so evident? We are fine here! With four children it is expensive to travel, and the horses need looking after, so usually they stay at home. We live a very happy life here. But sometimes he likes some change: I have taken the local train to Malmö...Especially in summer because you are lonelier then somehow. People are away and it is no fun to go down to the sea. My wife goes to many competitions and is not at home, and I just have a few kids. So it has happened that I have left, just to walk around in the city and feel the urban atmosphere. And I like it, I have been living in large cities before, and sometimes it is nice just to hear other sounds, and not the sounds that we have out here.

	NATUR	LANDSKAB	KULTUR
POTENTIALITET	<p>Natur</p>	<p>Habitat</p> <p>Bostedet</p> <p><i>Det blir liksom en strakt känsla för egendommen, som en person... när man har kämpat, så får man ju känslor för allting... man har en historia i varje del... den har gett mig det, jag behöver under min tid.</i></p> <p><i>... man skapade ju denne gården... den är inte gammal, som den ser ut,... den är ju bara gammal som... som juridisk person.</i></p> <p><i>Jag tycker det är bra hus, det har blivit bra, det var lite skabbigt när vi kom hit, ...</i></p> <p><i>... jag kallar det [markerne] Lagårdsskiftet, Lillskiftet och Stoskiftet och Möllevangen.</i></p> <p><i>Å med min småländska bakgrund så vet jag, vad jag talar om. Jag brukar säga, att det är en baggis att bor här, å det är inga sådana här inte.</i></p> <p><i>... tycker att det [vindmøllen] lyfter hela egendommen... ljuden, det är musik för mig, när jag hör dom snurrar runt. I början var det lite oljud, missljud mot maskinhallen, den var plåtklädd... där har jag sovrummet... så där hör jag det. Men... inte längre.</i></p> <p><i>Man är alltid ute... från... våren til man har plöjt färdigt... Det är så mycket att göra... besiktiga, titta på sjukdomar, plocka flyghavre... Det är ju det, som man lever av, så man är ju alltid orolig för det...</i></p> <p><i>Där [i Saxådalen] kan jag gå ner och sitta en dag, där hör man ingenting mer än naturen... det är et specielt klima där nere... en gryta af fukt... gräset er blågrönt.</i></p> <p><i>... och jag har precis samma blommor i dag [som i 30-tallet i vägrenen]... jag har minnsan inte förstört nånting.</i></p> <p><i>... fiskar lite .. med barnen .. vid Saxån.</i></p>	<p>Sans</p> <p>Bostedet</p> <p><i>... jag är uppväxt på en gård... det var mest skog [min far] var intresserad av.</i></p> <p><i>... egentligen skulle jag inte ta över här utan vår egendom i Blekinge, men så blev det ändrat... och det var ju tur.</i></p> <p><i>... man har väl haft tur. Jag kan nog inte hamna på ett bättre ställe.</i></p> <p><i>... jag har försökt att vara flexibel helt enkelt, gentemot marknaden och efterfrågan och liknande.</i></p> <p><i>Jag er ju smålänning, och där vill man ju inte ha träden runt husen. Där vill man ju ha öppet.</i></p> <p><i>Jag har gjort om allting - det mesta här... jag är nästan färdig, så jag går liksom å anstränga mig att hitta på vad jag ska...</i></p> <p><i>... jag är nog den enda som har köpt marken, som häftar skuld alltså.</i></p> <p><i>Vi har fått en ganska bra ekonomi här nu.</i></p> <p><i>... nu har jag det, som jag vill ha det... Jag unnar mig till exempel att renovera.</i></p> <p><i>... skruva med sånt [maskiner] det är förörande för min mentala hälsa... när jag måste, är jag ganska duktig... min anställde [är] väldigt interesseat, så vi kompletterar varann.</i></p>

	<p>Naturkvaliteter</p> <p><i>Lydene i Saxådalen</i></p> <p><i>Många vill ha den orörda naturen, men den finns ju inte - den är ju skapad - i synnerhet inte här.</i></p>	<p><i>... sen är sommaren ganska lugn också. Då bara går man ju omkring och pysslar om sina grödor och väntar till skörden.</i></p> <p><i>När man har tröskat och skördat, det är nästan vemodigt.</i></p> <p>Landskabet</p> <p><i>Det är väldigt vackert just i den här trakten. Det är både kuperat å beklätt med träd å ättehögarna som sticker upp å höjderna modsat.</i></p> <p><i>Det är jättespännande att upptäcke gravhöga å besöka dom... Jag har hittat massa yxor.</i></p> <p>Det sociale</p> <p><i>Jag har alltid lagt vikt vid det att visa mig... för da bliver man inte anonym .. nån jäkla gubbe, utan då är jag Anders.</i></p> <p><i>... vi umgås inte med någon här... jag har bara gått med blomma till såna jag tycker om så att säga, inte av plikt. Och jag har gått till någon begravning också,</i></p> <p><i>Jag umgås ju mycket med dom i [nabobyen], och det beror ju på, att många av dom är skolkamrater till mig från Alnarp.</i></p> <p><i>Jag [har] samma kille [anställd] som fanns när jag kom... Jag känner ingen som har kvar samme...</i></p> <p><i>En hyresgäst ha fått viltvården [i Saxådalen], så har han selv fått lite byte, harar och rådjur.</i></p> <p><i>... dom [hästfolk] hör... nu är det en som säljer havre for två öre billigare, och då flyt de om alla dit.</i></p>	<p>Landskabet</p> <p><i>Ur natursynspunkt så vet jag inte, vad som är fullt. Det skulle väl va tallskogen... där växer ju inte tallar här. Det som är fullt här, det är jo dom villorna. Hur kan man bygga på det viset... Ibland önsker jag, att dom skulle utradereas å ha det, som de va forr.</i></p> <p><i>Trelleborgsslättan... det är för mycket mänskig hand, där... finns ingen flyktväg.</i></p> <p>Det sociale</p> <p><i>Man kan ju inte krypa in i sitt skal här. Man är ju en del av alla, alls liv.</i></p> <p><i>... min anställde, honom vill vi behaga ... Han får ledigt på vinter. Han har lön, men han är ledig,</i></p> <p><i>Det er svært at berätta om ... Det finns regler som kanske inte är uttalade, men som ändå följs, och så finns det avvikelser från det... jättesvårt i början.</i></p> <p><i>Det är ganska betungande för mig, det där [foreningslivet] att avbryta nånting bara för att jag ska på ett möte.</i></p> <p><i>... försöker at skilja med fritid [foreningslivet] och det privata... men gränserna är lite utsuddade</i></p> <p><i>... särskilt på sommarn, då är man mera ensam på nåt vis... folk är borta, och det är inte kul att åka ner till Barsebäck och bada, ... hon tävlar mycket min fru ... Så det har hänt att jag stuckigt in för att gå på stan och känna lite den här urbana stämningen [skrattar]... jag har bott i storstäder förr, så ibland kan det vara skönt att bara höra annat ljud och inte det ljudet, som är här ute.</i></p> <p><i>... lite tråkigt, att där inte är någon, som tar hand om dom [de utslagna]</i></p>
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FAKTI-CITET	<p>Miljø</p> <p>Bostedet</p> <p>... ett gammalt militieboställe, egentligen 5, som man har slagit ihop... i slutet av 1800-tallet... det skulle vare en förebild för andra gårdar.</p> <p>Allt er samlat [155 ha], utom det jag har arrenderat [60 ha]</p> <p>Natur- og kulturelementer</p> <p>Rådyr, harar, fasaner, raphöns</p> <p>Bakker</p> <p>Saxådalen, mycket gullviva</p> <p>Vi har jo nära till strand</p> <p>blommor i vägrenen... hundkexen, kung karlsspira,... inta blåklocka, men den är ju känsligast bland alla, inte blåsippa heller.</p> <p>Jag har några [kulturspor] under plogdjup och en källa... och Harald Hillertand grav på andra sidan ån.</p> <p>Trädgård... det är ju natur, där man ser att människan har vatt</p>	<p>Området</p> <p>Bostedet</p> <p>... arronderingen är ju jättebra för brukningscentrum ligger verkligen i centrum och markerna ligger runt om här, så jag har vägar til alla skiften, så där er ingen avstånd. Allt er samlat, utom det jag har arrenderat... det är på andra sidan byn, men det är ju inga avstånd ändå.</p> <p>I Småland hade vi namn på alla skiften, som hade sitt ursprung i nån händelse, eller i nåt hus, som har stått där. Här er det bara siffror.</p> <p>Hemma körde man två meter, och sen fyllde man den där harven, och så fick man köra upp till stenvuren och tömma den, och så ut igen...jag kunde sitta och harva en hel dag utan att gå av traktorn [här]...</p> <p>Jag har ju Saxådalen på min mark, och det tycker jag är väldigt vacker... Å den har jag aldrig rört, aldrig godslat eller nånting, aldrig huggt, utan det har bara vatt djur [hästarna] som har fått gå där... jag tycker det er viktigast att det bevaras ...är orört av mänsklig hand</p> <p>Landskabet</p> <p>Jag har alltid tyckt om å gå... men inte lika roligt [som i Småland] för här är markerna väldigt plant.</p> <p>Man bor centralt i Skåne... man har nära till städer och nära till Danmark då, som... gör att man är mer</p>	<p>Erfaring</p> <p>Grunde til at flytte</p> <p>... jag köpte ju billigt för det var ju så... det var ju inte attraktivt att ha lantbruk... banken menade, att det inte var någon framtidsnäring.</p> <p>Bostedet</p> <p>Här är det bara växtodling,... konventionell skånsk växtföljd med sockerbetor och raps, spannmål och sånt</p> <p>... har byggt om mitt spanmålmagasin... slutet bevatna, det batalar sig inte.</p> <p>Jag har ju rivit hus också, för att komma in, för att få plats, byggt vägar... här var ingen infrastruktur på gården innan.</p> <p>Sen har jag alltid renoverat nånting. Jag har alltid ett projekt varje vinter, inomhus då. Fx overvejelser om økologi, vindkraft, går på kurser.</p> <p>... konstigt byggnadssätt [här] förstås, man kan ju inte slå i en spik utan att väggarna rasar, i Småland var det ju annorlunda, det var ju timmer.</p> <p>Det blev almsjuka, så jag har sågat ned alla träd... tatt upp stubbar... hittadt stensättningar... sen villa jag ha gräsmatta, för jag håller på att göra ett arboretum... och plantet 300 bok...[det] ser tomt ut, for det är precis nytt... sen gjorde jag en paddock, men den minskades för annars fick jag inte plats med mina träd.</p> <p>... det måste syns, att man är dör [i trädgården], det ska klippads å donas.</p> <p>Trädgårdsarbetet är inget som tar tid.</p> <p>Alltså, jag har gjort om allting här. [fra 7 traktorer til 2, fra 3 fastansatte til ingen, købte mere jord]</p> <p>Jag hade så mycket att göra här, 92, 93, 94, vi jobbade hela vintern... min anstälde han stälde alltid upp, han hade aldrig semeter... jag hade aldrig möjlighet att reflektera, det vara bara att jobba.</p> <p>... hade potati, men det var för arbetskrävande, kapitalkrävande och sen gick jag över mer till den här bulktanken och sen... hamnade jag i en nisch då som jag</p>
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	<p><i>i händelsernas centrum kanske. Å det är samtidigt är det ju ett behagligt klimat, trots vintrarna,...</i></p> <p><i>Så pass urbanpräglad och samtidigt ett väldigt intensivt jordbruksområde</i></p> <p><i>Å så bor jag i en vacker by</i></p> <p><i>Jag upplever verkligen, att vi tillhör regionen, å samtidig upplever jag, att jag har förmånen att kunna fjärma mig från detta också, för det er ju liksom en sån lisa att bo här. Alltså, det er landet, det är lugnt å skönt, å här är tryggt på nåt vis. Å så är det inte mer än 10 minutter, så är man i det heltiska livet.</i></p> <p><i>Tåget... går precis nedanför mina fält... nu kan jag bara springa ner till Pågatågstationen och så kan jag åka til Malmö.</i></p> <p><i>Vi åker mycket til Helsingborg och Helsingör. Det tycker ungarna är roligt, å åka båt.</i></p> <p><i>... jag ser den ju här, bron.</i></p> <p><i>Några gånger kört over bron [til København] när jag har haft styrelse åkt över, åtit å handlat å så tillbaka, så har man någonting att prata om.</i></p> <p>Indkøbs- og aktivitetsmuligheder <i>I Annelöv: Skole [1. til 6. klasse] Pizzaria</i> <i>I Kävlinge: bank, systembolag</i> <i>Helsingborg, om det är en vanlig helg</i> <i>Dösjebro</i> <i>City Gross i Hyllinge.</i> <i>Center Syd</i></p>	<p><i>hade vitklöver till frö, och sånt där.</i></p> <p><i>Jag odlar mina egna lök... ibland, men det är ju inte av ekonomiska skäl. Det är ju för nöjes skull.</i></p> <p><i>Hållt på i nästen två år med svinproduktion planerat tillsammans med en granne, stort stall med 580 sugor.</i></p> <p><i>... så byggde vi om och ökade kapaciteten på maskinerna istället, så att jag fick göra så hela tiden för att överleva. Och sen gick vi med i EU, och helt plötsligt så, blev det pengar över...</i></p> <p><i>Och det [med EU] fanns möjlighet, och det fanns regler, som man kunde läsa sig till och följa, och så bara gjorde man det, så tjänade man pengar. Så det var min räddning det.... det var precis som man fick vingar, man kunde utvecklas på ett annat sätt...</i></p> <p><i>... det har varit en väldig fördel, att kunna ha sett annat [Småland og Cannada]</i></p> <p><i>Lantbruk tar väldig mycket tid, så at göra nånting utöver, det kräver väldig mycket energi och insatser, så det får inte bli för svårt...</i></p> <p><i>Nu lejer jag ut till en nioradig betupptagare, och det har ju känts jättekonstigt,... Så nu går jag en kurs på Alnarp,...</i></p> <p><i>Dom har tat grovfoder [i Saxådalendom] en gång på tiden... förmodligen därfor, som vi har vissa [sjældne] växter.</i></p> <p>Indkøbs- og aktivitetsmuligheder <i>...behöver man något akut, så kan man åka ner till Dösjebro</i> <i>Ska vi handla billigt, åker vi upp til City Gross i Hyllinge. Där kostar det ju ingenting. Där är ju resan det dyra.</i> <i>Center Syd, då ska man ha tid... hitta parkeringsplats... ha tid att prata med alla människor, för halva Annelöv är ju där och handlar.</i> <i>Men jag tycker inte om det heller, för i Helsingborg upplever jag som stökig hamnstad och allting. Sen kommer vi inte ut så mycket, utan det är mest det hära familje.</i> <i>Landskrona undviker man ju lite... det är ingen nöjesstad, för vår generation är det inte det.</i></p>
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	<p>Det sociale</p> <p>Rytterforeningen</p> <p>Vårmarknad</p> <p>AKTIV - en paraplyorganisation, så alle foreninger kan gå samlet til myndighederne,</p> <p>Medlem av forældrekooperativet.</p>	<p>Det sociale</p> <p>Annelöv är ju känt också för sin hästverksamhet. Och vi har ju vår ryttaforening,...</p> <p>Vi har ett åldermansgille... som forvalter vissa markbitar... det er åboarna, ... der er medlemmer. [var kasserer de 2 første år han boede her].</p> <p>... ofte är det jo en v�ldig r�dsla, att man kommer till korta, och man inte har kunskaper, och det kommer bara s�na h�r kostymgubbar [fr�n det offentliga], � bonden k�nner sig ganska liten. Jag har ju ingen problem med att skriva ett brev,.. s� man f�r va lite f�rsiktig ...� diskret... inte st�lle sig upp � prata.</p>	<p>... n�r jag kom hit... pratade [man] om helt andra saker, �n d�r jag kom ifr�n. H�r var det mer, var man skulle placera pengarna.</p> <p>Det sociale</p> <p>... i b�rjan... blev [jag] mottagen v�ldigt positivt av grannar d�, av lantbrukare runt om. Man kom in i styrelser, s� det var ganska livligt... jag kunde inte s� mycket om... sk�nsk v�xtodling... s� jag hade mycket nytta av det. Men jag f�rstod ocks�, att det var en mycket nyfikenhet grannarna "�h, vem ska ta �ver denna egendom?"... man ville nog ha koll lite p�, hur jag skulle klara mig. F�r jag h�rde ryktesvis, att jag nog inte skulle �verleva s� m�nga �r... f�r det var ju mycket pengar, som skulle ut. Det var ju j�ttedyrt att k�pa g�rd d�, tyckte dom.</p> <p>.. jeg vill l�ra mig namn p� barnen, s� jag kan vr�la n�r de hittar p� n�nting... d� slippas man allt det h�r baktaleriet.</p> <p>... min sv�rfar hade inget umg�nge alls h�r i byn... s� de tyckte, det var positivt, att jag pratade med dom, jag var inte s� m�rkv�rdig... vi [har] mycket st�rre umg�nge nu... det �r ju i och med att barnen kom, s� tr�ffas man ju andra f�r�ldrar p� dagis,...</p> <p>Den h�r killen [min anst�lde] han f�r m�nga samtal fr�n mina grannar att han ska g� �ver och s�d�r. Det er ju ganska fr�ckkt, k�pa �ver. S� det ber�tter han. Han �r mycket lojal och vi har det v�ldigt roligt...</p> <p>Park kallar de det, d�r dom har tr�d i Sk�ne...</p> <p>... har slutat jaga... tyckte inte om det... en massa sk�ninger sittar i en ring sen �r det en flok harar. som alla skjuter p�. Jag tyckte, det var inget skoj. Man fick b�de hagl i st�vlarna och det ven kring �ronen... Det er meget mer socialt �n jakt... sen �r der fest... tiden begr�nser det. Jeg kan inte sitte en hel dag p� pass.</p> <p>Jag har ju marker ocks�, som hade l�mpat sig f�r villor, och jag har ju pratat med folk och: "Nej d� f�r man bara hit s�na d�r "svartingar""", s�ger de, s� d� blir man nerv�s [skrattar]... synen p� invandrare d�.</p> <p>... jag gjorde ju s�, att jag tog hit invandrare, under</p>
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			<p><i>Bosnienkrisen, då för att de skulle komma in i samhället, det var ett samarbete med kommunen... Till slut så visade det sig, dom [naboerne] lärde sig det, att de var också människor. Då blev det så här att: "Men dom känner vi ju, dom är ju inte farliga".</i></p> <p><i>... ingen lantbrukare som ser... nåt värde i att sälja till hästfolk... för man får inte betalt förran vart tredje leverans... de har liksom inte råd... det kostar ju mer för mig att fylla den säcken [med tre kilo havre] än vad jeg för for havren.</i></p> <p>Planlægning og politik</p> <p><i>Vi ligger ju i periferin. Vi gränsar ju till Svalöv och Kävlinge, så vi får sällan nånting från kommunen här, de brukar bara svara att det sköter ni bästa själva. Och det gör vi faktiskt, så man kan göra ganska mycket här, utan att man får någon klander för det... vi har en Vårmarknad till exempel här, som vi aldrig behövt kommunal hjälp till... Och [vi] drar in pengar till ryttarföreningen.</i></p> <p><i>Här är ovanligt mycket hästar. Det är så mycket hästar så att det är till och med problem med lagstiftningen om att bygga villor. Nu har de satt in det i sin översiktsplan - detaljplanen, att de, som flyttar till Annelöv, måste ta hänsyn till hästarna – och inte tvärt om.</i></p>
VANE	<p>"Lov"</p> <p><i>Det är ju gärningarna som adlar mannen.</i></p> <p><i>Man måste skapa sin egen tillvaro. Individen gör vad den vill [i förbindelse med overtage gården]</i></p> <p><i>Vi är väldigt släktbundna... har koll på många hundra tillbaka, vad var och en gjode... mer viktigt egentlig end egendomarna. Vi har aldrig ärvt varandra ...så lantbrug är inte för mig nån större tradition, även om jag är uppväxt på en gård og far också.</i></p> <p><i>... Så det ligger lite i generna [datterens evner for ridning] [skrattar]) Från mig kommer ju ingenting. Men det är kanske tävlingsinstinkten, som kommer därifrån istället.</i></p>	Symbol	Argument

	<p>Bostedet og bedriften</p> <p><i>Det är sällan, man misslyckas, även om man gör dumheter [fordi jorden er så god].</i></p> <p><i>Jag vill ha det modernt [ikke økologi].</i></p> <p><i>Jag vill följa med i tiden.</i></p> <p><i>Jag har inget maskininteresse</i></p> <p><i>... om man blir ledig [fx fordi maskiner gør jobbet hurtigere] kan man ju inte... göra ingenting.</i></p> <p><i>Vi måste trycka kostnader hela tiden, och då är det ju mängderne, som avgör.</i></p> <p><i>... typisk skånsk kanske för att de alltid har vatt mätta, att det är viktigt att behålla [gården] ... dom är rädda för att pengarna försvinner, eller egendommen... jag tycker, det är viktigare, att egendommen går bra även efter mig.</i></p> <p><i>... dom är ju väldigt noga här nere, att de ska gå till nästa generation, och dom ska ha det gratis i stort sett. Alltså krubban ska vara full när dom tar över.</i></p> <p><i>Jag tycker det är rent åt skogen alltså [at næste generation skal overtage gratis], dom sköter det inte, för dom har aldrig slitit.</i></p> <p><i>Man måste jo tänka på den, som ska... köpa det här... Det er vigtigt, att den kan dra det vidare.</i></p> <p><i>... det är ju dom [landmændene selv] som ska ändra på det [deres omdømme]. Det är ju ingen annan som gör det.</i></p> <p><i>Vi måste jo anpassa oss - vår produktion- så att den tilltalar dom, som har pengarna och kan köpa det, vi tillverkar - vi är ju i minoritet.</i></p>	<p>Bostedet og Bedriften</p> <p><i>... som lantbrukare så brukar jag säga, att man har hamnat i Paradiset, för att jag har bra jordar och bra odlingsklimat.</i></p> <p><i>... när jag började här nere, jag trodde jag hade kommit till Himmelriket.</i></p>	<p>Bostedet og Bedriften</p> <p><i>Spanmål er ju lätt at flytta, mycket lättare än levande material. Å marken er ju alltid anpasningsbar, det är inte som et svinstall. Den håller ju bara 20 år. Då måste du börja om igen... lita såna tankar jag har, jag är ju närmare 50 år... då är det inte lika mycket tid i framför mig heller å bygga upp.</i></p> <p><i>Grundtanken är, att jag ska kunna få det så bra som dom, som är vanliga löntagare.</i></p> <p><i>... jag er inte orolig alls egentlig för min framtid... jag kan sälja vindkraftverken... och gården... Mid Time Reveny från EU vill göra det bedre, [han har sandjord og vil få større tilskud end sine naboer]</i></p> <p>Landskabet</p> <p><i>Folk har søkt sig hit från början på grund av, att man haft lättodlad mark... nu åter man upp dom forudtsætningarna som gavs engang för, att folk ska ha nånstand att bo å verka... [det är] ett lite skrämmande perspektiv, för det går väldigt fort... den högsta boniteten är där man bygger väger å sånt.</i></p>
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<p>Det sociale</p> <p>... i en lägenhet, där är man jo anonym. Man vet, att det kommer nån på ens begravning, och man ligger väl inte så länge här heller, förrän de börja undra, samtidig som man då inte kan dölja särskilt mycket heller.</p> <p>... jag tror att jag har en annan syn på folk, än vad man har i Skåne.</p> <p>Är man [skånsk] bonde står man ju över dom, som arbetar, man har mycket sånt här hierarkiskt tänkande... på årsmöte å sånt ... är det viktigt, att man håller på rangen. Men är man Smälänning, så har man ju aldrig hatt råd med det.</p> <p>... man [Skåningene] umgås jo inte med mindre bönder...</p> <p>Det gör ingenting [de andres nyfigenhet], jag förstår dom ju.</p> <p>... här [är det] traditionen, att när man fyller år på en gård, så kommer gårdarnas invånare dit och tvärt om, och det är viktig, t att man uppvaktar.</p> <p>Jag behöver inte känna mig tvingad av etikettsskäl... jag står över det [skratt] med all rätt då.</p> <p>Folk i allmänhet har väl rätt begränsande kunskaper om lantbruk... i synnerhet... om maten, vi producerar.</p> <p>Idag vill folk inte ha mat, dom vill ha ren miljö.. dom vill inte betala för mat, för mat är så givet i dag.</p> <p>Folk är inte så intresserade av svensk mat, när de kommer in på stormarknaden, det är bara innan.</p> <p>Som konsument, där har man ju makt.</p> <p>Dom är väldigt ombytliga, hästfolk...</p>		<p>Det sociale</p> <p>Jag har alltid tyckt om å gå. [Det är] ett bra sätt kommunicera med folk, det är alltid nån ute.</p> <p>... folk i byn ringda och gratulerade. Dom är lite stolta över, att vi har stora vindkraftverk... lantbrukarna gnälle väl lite, men det är nog mest för, att jag tjänar pengar.</p> <p>Det er ju Lidl och Maxi som tar pengarna från konsumenten ... då ska man låta dom slå på varandra. Det gör man ju genom att handla specifika varor i olika affärer.</p>
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	<p><i>Har man häst, har man min själ rätt att rida var som heslt [mener hesteejerne, der opfatter landmændene som] en ganske skræckinjaganda, exotisk grupp.</i></p>		
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Figure 11: Condensation in the diagram of the Meaning of Landscape of the interview with the entrepreneur farmer Anders

Conclusions

This research project started off with three principal questions: Which culture-nature values are important to different kinds of inhabitants in the rural countryside close to urban centres in the Sound region? What similarities and differences that can be uncovered between respondents on each side of the Sound? And what correspondences, discrepancies and/or conflicts may be identified between the ways in which the rural inhabitants understand and use the countryside?

It is now time to conclude our findings in relation to this set of questions, and the theoretical framework of our study. Because of the limited extent of this project, however, this concluding discussion can only provide outlines of an understanding of aspects of the landscape of the Sound region that ought to be much more thoroughly explored. In the following we will discuss some concluding aspects that we consider particularly important to consider as this project is related to the other projects within “Landscape as a Resource for Health and Development”.

First, we will discuss the role of landscape and nature as producer of experiences and the farmers’ complex relationship to the land they farm. Secondly, we will make some conclusions concerning the social values of the countryside and the fact that rural is not necessarily the equivalent of peripheral. Thirdly, we will shortly discuss the possible conflicts between different individuals, groups and interests in the countryside, and finally we will suggest the possible consequences of the answers to the above questions for spatial planning.

Our two case studies included six long, qualitative interviews with inhabitants of three categories in the countryside on both sides of the Sound. The focus of the interviews was on the informants’ experiences of life in the countryside and we were looking for similarities and differences between both the chosen places and people living there. One reason to choose informants who had relatively recently moved into a rural area was that we expected them to be reflexive about their choice to live in the countryside. As expected, we found clear differences between the farmers who had lived there for a long time and the newcomers of the areas in general.

Interesting contrasts were also expected and found when comparing the perspectives of the farmers and the newcomers who had moved to the countryside because of their love of nature and animals. Lars and Gunilla, who are both in an economically secure position, represent this category.

The second category of informants consisted of two persons with a less solid economic situation. These informants were chosen because we believed that interviews with them could reveal alternative possibilities in the countryside. Søren, an unemployed man (and biking enthusiast) and Carina, an academic with relatively low income and an insecure employment, are the two representatives here.

Finally, the traditional organic milk farmer Ole and the big business farmer Anders were chosen as representatives of those who farm the land and who

earn their living from the rural landscape that they are constantly recreating. The main differences were clear already from the beginning – between newcomers and farmers. Most important when we started was also, however, the meanings of culture-nature relations in the landscape. Meanwhile the countryside as a social space and rural-urban relations came to be more important.

The values of nature and landscape

Lars, the Danish engineer now living permanently in a former summer house area by the coast, certainly appreciates the freedom living in the countryside but first of all he stresses the meaning of being close to nature. Nature to him is above all the fjords and its light. He adores nature be it authentic or manmade. For example he enjoys roaming uncultivated or forested areas but also admires restored gravel pits as he is fascinated by the processes of nature and enjoys studying the wildlife invading over the years. He strongly addresses as a Law of nature on the level of Thirdness that man is able to manage landscapes to something as good as natural nature and that we should not be so afraid of doing it. However, it can also be a part of the potentialities of the Nature of man on the level of Firstness. Among our informants he is the only one who directly claims that nature areas as well as walking paths should be planned and provided by the public authorities. On the other hand he also mentions that he together with some others re-establish a walking path that the farmer frequently ploughs away, thus revealing how people satisfy their own needs independently of planning claiming what they consider their right of way.

All our respondents seem to agree that the Symbol of beautiful nature basically consists of hills, water, woodlands - primarily without buildings - and some kind of wildlife. Further, all our respondents consider what they call wilderness – bits and pieces of unfarmed land - important even though they live in highly urban and agricultural landscapes. Gunilla, the Swedish horse farm owner, speaks about nature and landscape in general terms but unlike Lars she does not seem to regard the possibilities to experience nature an essential part of her rural life. Woodlands symbolize what Gunilla sees as nature and she is somewhat critical about the content of natural element in her countryside, where every strip of land is cultivated. *To be honest, here is no nature*, she states. Danish Søren stresses that *woodlands, beaches, fresh air, the sea and a hilly landscape* is what he appreciates in the countryside.

The surroundings of the Swedish case study area offers some monumental Bronze Age graves, and the farmer Anders says that *...precisely these barrows that arise on the hills are extremely beautiful ... this is what I find a fine surrounding... there is also the valley that I have on my land; it is also very beautiful... I can go there and sit for a day. There you can't here anything, except nature. And I have never touched it, I have never used fertilizers or anything there. I have never cut it... there has just been animals gracing there... it has been rather inaccessible*. Both our Swedish informants Carina and Anders consider this small river valley a valuable piece of nature and personally regard it an important recreational

opportunity. They also both state that it is difficult to reach this nature as it is located beyond vast areas of cultivated land. The Danish farmer Ole stresses the meaning to him of the views towards the fjords and the woodlands where there are no buildings at sight, and Søren dreams about a solitary situated log house near forest and lake.

By moving to the countryside people can perceive qualitative possibilities formerly unknown to them. For both Søren and Carina the economic aspect, rather than an urge to get close to nature, was crucial for their decisions of where to settle. Neither of them could afford a decent housing located for example along closer to the cities or the coast. Once settled in their new environment however, new energy deriving from the ~~Nature~~ nature of the place directs them to new kinds of spatial practices. Carina and her family did not perceive nature values as a powerful reason for moving to the countryside. Now she has learned to enjoy gardening. *Here is not very much of natural nature*, Carina says, but at the same time she stresses the shifting beauties of the farmland during different seasons of the year (cf. Svensson 1997) and that gardening has become very important as a means for relaxation. Søren, states that the reason for him to move to the countryside was to find a place to live, *somewhere to have my bed and myself in*. He spends much time bicycling and prefers a suitable, i.e. hilly landscape where he can find new routes whenever he pleases. If he had had more money, he says, he would have bought a nice house with pleasant surroundings, which he means he has not got now. Most important to him is the feeling of freedom, greenery, peace and tranquility. The meaning of landscape to both these informants is mainly to be found at the level of Firstness as future possibilities and potentials of deriving from the fact of simply living there. The becoming is so to speak the inherent quality of their Habitats.

The meaning of cultivated nature to the farmers

How then do the farmers value the agrarian farmland that they cultivate and the countryside that they live in?

One of the main components in the perception of nature of the farmers is the possibility to handle nature on its own premises. The Danish farmer Ole, expresses it as *I can go outside and kick the soil in springtime and say ... Now is the time to sow*. Swedish Anders sticks more to the level of Secondness actualities and necessities. This shows how intertwined their spatial relations and their experiences are and how profitable a proper cultivation of your farmland is. Anders states that *the welfare of western Europe is dependent on two factors – fertilizers on the one hand and insecticides and weed killers on the other... there is nothing in science that says that ecologically cultivated land is more biological... on the other hand you get a more diversified flora on the ecologically grown land... for whatever reason... when you buy ecologically cultivated you do not pay for the product but for the feeling*.

To the Danish farmer Ole the perceived beauty of the landscape is connected to tradition. To him it is not just the open fertile land in itself, but rather a question of belonging that makes him appreciate the beauty of his

Habitat along with the conceived experience of the meaning of living here. He states that he often in the evening sits on the stairs of the brewing-house ...*So I just have a look over the land... it touches me much to sit and enjoy looking at the grounds... we have got much more open land here now ... when my mother and father lived here much more was planted.*

Nevertheless, to him the level of Firstness and the level of Secondness are strongly connected. Through his Social Practice the material space is closely connected to the mental. To Ole however the level of Secondness and the level of Thirdness are more strongly connected.

There is a considerable difference between the two framers with regard to their agricultural production. Swedish and the Danish farmer, As Ole on the Danish side of the Sound is an organic dairy farmer while Anders, on the Swedish side, produces grains and has no livestock on his farm. Nevertheless, his family keeps house pets and a few horses. He also at some point of time considered to add pork production to his business but never did.

One very strong Argument for these farmers to live the lives they do is the possibility to spend a lot of time outdoors. Anders stresses that it is important to be out in the fields every day ...*Yes, you are out there all the time... from when you come out in the fields in springtime until you go inside when you have done the final ploughing...* When outdoors, he uses his legs, always walking. Ole points out the importance of having space around you that makes you feel free. He contrasts himself to people in the built up areas who he sees as not having enough air to breath. He appreciates to have open space around himself. To both of them the fields and their property constitute the Landscape as Area at the level of Secondness. And landscaping is nothing for the farmers even though they have both planted trees. Their relation to nature is especially complex and is part of. The nature-culture relations come into work here as they are their practices. They interpret cultivation less as a result more as a working process. To them it is part of their *form of life* (Højrup 1983). The farmers consider themselves caretakers of the nature i.e., landscape managers (Hansen-Møller et al. 2004), and they quarrel with it, care about it, struggle against it, etcetera. But they rarely experience it in a mode comparable to that of the nature lovers, i.e. the newcomers, nor to planners.

Social life in the countryside

An important reason for our respondents to move from the city to the countryside is that they seem to have expected different and in some sense better living conditions in the rural environment. This finding is in accordance with the ones in a Danish study (Svendsen 2003:28). The expectations are described in many different ways such as *freedom from urban life*. But what does it really mean to be free from urban life?

The newcomers in the countryside appreciate the freedom to choose whether they want the privacy of being on your own or the social advantage of sharing parts of life with people with similar interests. Gunilla, the owner of a horse farm, expresses the latter as a feeling of solidarity among people

in the neighbourhood though you don't have to see each other or be together. The nature loving engineer Lars regards it as charming to live in a little village where you can be both close to people and have a distance to them. He feels confident in being part of a social situation where he recognises everybody on his way home. Søren and Carina also highly praise the freedom of being on your own and at the same time have the opportunity to be part of a community if you wish to. Carina expresses it like: *There is no one in this village that goes around nagging about garden plots not being well kept or that you have painted your front door in the wrong colour... So there is this freedom instead... to be on your own... but also partly forgotten... like Hillbilly... Everybody is as asocial as we are...*

To most of the newcomers, the local, social life has not been important to the decision of where to move to. Some of them participate in local clubs or gymnastics in their new community. Søren sometimes meet people in the local exercise bikers club. Carina primarily takes part in the social life through her childminder; this woman constantly encourages her to join the village community. Gunilla is a member of the local riding club, and her husband has even become a member of its board. According to Svendsen (2003: 45) memberships of local institutions and sports associations is the perfect platform for newcomers to be integrated in a new community. Despite of this a conflict is observed in this study in the relations between newcomers and farmers when it comes to taking part in local affairs. The Danish farmer Ole means that the sports association need more members but is simultaneously worried if it can include that many and still be the same. He also emphasises that it seems as if the newcomers are so content with the pieces of nature they have acquired that that's all that counts for them and the reason why they do not join the local clubs. Further, he complains that the newcomers merely seem to participate for their own benefits, not to contribute to the social life of the community.

Both the farmers, Ole and Anders, have difficulties to separate work from leisure time, and they claim the freedom and independence of their work and freedom to work when they want to. Ole sometimes takes a day off in the middle of the week, he is his own master, he says. They both have been able to spend time with their children since they are always at home. Ole underlines that his children have never had to be in institutions *...besides we give our children an environment to grow up in that most people can't give them*. They also both are very busy in organizational activities and have a central position in the local life. They have access to and influence on the Social Space of the countryside on all levels, which means that their Representations of Space interact with all the other fields within the matrix of the Meaning of Landscape.

The farmers also emphasize the meaning of ownership as an important Argument for them. Ole stresses that as a farmer he has economical advantages... *just imagine what a dwelling like this would cost if you should live in something alike... no ordinary people would be able to... afford it if it was situated in the city... but we can afford it since it belongs to a property that is not taxed in the same way....* He also underlines that being a farmer means that you do not have to spend time commuting. *I often think of*

my brother who spends so much time every day on the roads... he has to be away from home at least ten hours a day. Anders on the other hand argues that since you work so hard... you get feelings for everything and relate to what you have done... you find stories in everything... things become personal.... But the main thing is to keep up the production... and that when I retire my work should not have been done in vain... He also emphasizes the meaning of production as such claiming that *As a farmer I usually say that I have come to Paradise since I have so good soil and good climate, which means that I seldom fail even if I make mistakes sometime... it will grow anyhow...*

A rural and central location

In some ways most of the respondents seem to long for a pre-modern countryside living. Some of them openly oppose the urban life style, while others through working and shopping take part in urban life, but at the same time try to live a more traditional rural life in their leisure time. This could also be an answer to why unattractive backward parts of the region now seem to become increasingly interesting to live in. Modernity with its glorification of urban life and development created these places as unattractive and left behind. When we now find ourselves in late modernity, an opposition to these values can be seen. This opposition often finds values in traditional countryside life as more diversified, both economically and when it comes to lifestyle choices. It is not an open protest but more of an alternative way of living simultaneously close to the high modern urban centres and close to nature and traditional rural life in the countryside. This finding can be compared to the changes caused for instance when the railway centres grew up in the countryside. The American political scientist James C. Scott (1998) that has studied farmers lives in several countries in the world has showed that the reason why much of the modern rationalistic planning thinking has failed depends on not having considered the views of the inhabitants. The meaning of local preferences and everyday experiences should not be overlooked.

Being able to live in a rural environment and at the same time within reach from large cities is highly valued by all our informants. Many of the values that we have found to be most important to them are related to this fact. On both sides they all state this as the main argument. The Danish farmer says *We live in the countryside at the same time as we live in the city.* He and his family see themselves as living in a metropolitan district, and this is of great value to him, especially for the children, *to live out on the ground but still be close to the city.*

All the respondents experience their place of residence as being both in the centre of what is going on and part of the countryside. They all consider themselves being a part of the expansive Sound region, which they see as one of the qualities of their lives. For all the respondents it is important to have access to both the countryside and the urban centres, and to have it on their own conditions.

Among the more unexpected findings is that new urban shopping centres located next to main highways in rural surroundings, function as new meeting places for the rural population. Anders says that *if you go there you need time... you must have time to talk to all the people, because half the village is there shopping...* and he adds that *it is a strange place since all the shops are indoors.*

Gunilla and her family can be described as taking part in the shaping of a post-productivist countryside where new values such as are created. It can of course be described as simply a question if not producing the traditional agrarian countryside. On the other hand they are producing something new both on the level of Firstness and Secondness, i.e. a new Social Space and a new kind of landscape. Gunilla stresses the serenity of the countryside and talks about how awful it is to do business in the city *When I get there, I just want to go home...* Carina talks about criminality, how cars and bikes are stolen all the time in the city.

Conflicting interests

Our interviews indicate that there are also conflicts to be found in the rural landscapes in the Sound region; conflicts between values of culture and nature, and conflicts between farmers and the other rural inhabitants. These conflicts are forwarded as opinions for or against organic modes of production, and in discussions concerning the role of farmers; being productive, disturbing or just providing the rural atmosphere. Further, most of the newcomers hardly know who farms what fields.

Further, this study uncovers a growing conflict expressed from both farmers and horse enthusiasts, concerning horse riding over the cultivated lands. The Danish farmer Ole is afraid that there will come too many newcomers into the countryside, building new houses. This is also a development that Swedish Carina identifies as a possible conflict, when she argues that there is a need for new inhabitants in the countryside in order to keep the school and the bus services running, but on the other hand you don't want to have large villages of new residential areas, as that would threaten the rural atmosphere.

Both the interviewed farmers have wind turbines on their land, but their reasons for this differs. Anders, the Swedish farmer, have them as a kind of economic security while Ole, the Danish farmer, says that he has the windmill because he believes that the environmental arguments are very convincing. Ole is also running his farm according to organic principles, since he has developed an interest in environmental issues. All the respondents claim that ecological cultivation is interesting, which shows a strong emphasis on its symbolic value of landscape as a social space. Anders says however that... *on my farm I want to maintain quo which means to keep the income I have and to keep the quality of my products...* Further he states that... *it is better that the small farmers in the woodlands cultivate ecologically and keep a few spots open than that I who am surrounded by traditional farms cultivate ecologically.*

Another type of conflict between farmers and newcomers is that the newcomers expected the countryside to be calm and silent. *We thought that*

moving out to the countryside would mean getting tranquility and calmness. Here you do not get that. This is a landscape of production with many people everywhere, says Swedish Carina.

Lessons for planning

The human aspects of the landscape, the perspectives and practices of the inhabitants, that have been the focus of this research, are of great importance to the practice of spatial planning. These aspects should always be discussed and incorporated in planning processes (cf. Svensson 2005a). This is first and foremost a democratic demand. Moreover, it can expand the perspective of planners from focusing primarily on the physical Environment and its quantitatively measurable content including the qualitative and potential relations of the relationship between Culture and Nature, i.e. the Habitats of the residents which are important not least in the urban rural fringe.

Based on this pilot case study of the meaning of landscape to the inhabitants of the countryside of the Sound region it is evident that all the respondents perceive themselves as living in the centre of the Sound region with all its opportunities and at the same time being gifted with the qualities living under more rural conditions. In that perspective it seems important that urban sprawl is avoided through planning.

The values of experiencing the rural scenery comprise the pleasures of inhabiting, driving by car or by bike or walking in diverse settings with hills, forest, rivers and fjords and some kind of wildlife but primarily without buildings. Nevertheless, especially the Scanians are aware that they live in a place with modest possibilities to do so, i.e. with no *natural nature* as they call it. Accessibility to uncultivated spots where you can roam as you please is stressed by all the newcomers on both sides of the Sound. Providing such spots as well pathway systems seems crucial for future planning in order to increase the opportunities for outdoor recreation in the Sound region.

Planning and the establishment of clear borders between different land uses and landscape values are however not always appreciated. For some of the rural inhabitants the countryside is appreciated most of all as a place where it is possible to influence your own environment and social space. It is important to recognize also the value of areas that can provide possibilities for unexpected solutions and spontaneous development of natural and cultural values (cf. Olshammar 2002). There is also a need for spots that remain inexpensive enough to make a good life possible even with small prospects.

In contrast to the newcomers, the two farmers primarily have their fields and property in mind when speaking of the values of the countryside. To them farming is perceived as a process; a process holding the values of making your own decisions, being responsible for the management of the environment, being involved in and able to pass on the qualities of a rural life style to their children.

The social advantages of living in a small community where everybody knows everyone has been of no special attraction to the newcomers in this study when choosing where to settle. Rather, they have wished to leave the cities and their former urban life styles in order to find peace and quietness referring to the physical and the social conditions respectively. In other words, repulsion rather than attraction has been what counted. However, all the newcomers have to a smaller or greater degree become involved in some part of the local social life and appreciate the advantages of the network and the help they can get there. Simultaneously they stress the options of not being disturbed by neighbours if they don't aspire to and the opportunity to act as they please within their private holding. In other words, the social acceptance in the rural areas seems in general to be broad. Nevertheless, the prioritising of privacy make the farmers consider the newcomers self-sufficient as they both themselves are highly engaged in the local social life and one them especially emphasises the importance of integrating the newcomers. The help the process of integration local places where people can meet are important. These can be provided in the form of sports facilities, village halls or the like whereas the urge for privacy perhaps can be satisfied by leaving pockets unplanned making the unwritten rules of the local culture guide what it is acceptable and what not. Thereby the living conditions especially for persons with low incomes will more likely be met.

On the other hand, the above does not mean that there are no conflicts among the newcomers and the farmers although none of our respondents refer to precise incidents. Horseback riding on the fields is mentioned as a problem by one of the farmers and lacking accessibility due to farming is stressed by all the newcomers of whom especially one also points to noise from cars and agricultural machines as a problem. Here planning of pathways and regulation of traffic could serve as a remedies against conflicts.

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